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**AFRICA THROUGH BRITISH EYES:  
THE CHANGING REPRESENTATION OF  
THE D. R. CONGO  
IN THE LONDON *TIMES*, 1885–2006**

**FAUSTIN CHONGOMBE DJONGANA**

**SUBMITTED TO SWANSEA UNIVERSITY IN  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**2012**

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to respond to the on-going complaints from both African and western scholars that Africa is negatively represented in the western media. The findings showed that news stories, opinions and commentaries expressed throughout the coverage of the Congo, including editorials and letters and from pre-colonial to modern Congo, were written by western journalists and correspondents from the London *Times* and associated correspondents, while four other news agencies Agence France Press (AFP), Associated Press (AP), the Belgian news agency (Belga) and Reuters were the main sources for *The Times* newspaper. News makers in Pre-Colonial and Colonial periods were almost exclusively westerners and references to the Congolese people appeared in generic terms. In Post-Colonial and Modern periods, Congolese people did appear by name but only in a limited capacity. The thesis also identifies differences between the coverage in each period, for example highlighting the critical engagement with the Congo that characterised the reporting of 1908. The Congo was represented over the periods sampled with negative stereotypes such as 'primitive', 'backward', 'barbaric', 'dangerous destination,' 'place for business,' 'natives to be civilised, evangelised and educated.' Recurring themes such as forced labour, civil war, corruption, child exploitation, poverty, refugees, witchcraft, dependency and mismanagement prevail in the reporting. The research investigated the changing representations of the Democratic Republic of Congo in the western media by examining its coverage in the London *Times* from a historical context that included four key historic years in the Congo's development, namely 1885, 1908, 1960 and 2006, referred to as the Pre-Colonial, Colonial, Post-Colonial and Modern Congo periods. The London *Times*, which used to be one of the leading western newspapers and the British newspaper of record, was selected. Content and discourse analysis were used to evaluate and categorise the news items published in the sampled periods to distinguish the emerging themes, to identify the sources, and to interpret the language used in the coverage. The findings have shown that since its inception to the modern period, the reporting of the Congo in *The Times* has avowedly been through western eyes, and, as with much journalism, has not offered any real context to the stories. The poor benighted heathens thus continue in their war-torn arbour.





## Declaration

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This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes give explicit reference. A bibliography is appended.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

**ABAKO:** Association de Bakongo (Tribal political party for Bakongo People)

**AFP:** Agence France Press (French Press Agency)

**AP:** Associated Press

**UPI:** United Press International

**D.R. Congo:** Democratic Republic of Congo

**INA:** International News Agency

**MNC:** Movement National Congolais (Congolese National Movement)

**UMK:** Union Miniere de Katanga (Union of Katanga Mine)

**UN:** United Nations

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This thesis is dedicated to all peace-makers, human rights activists, refugees and those voiceless, marginalised women, men and children across the world.

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about the representation of Africa in the Western Media. Specifically, it focuses on the way in which the Congo is reported and represented in what has traditionally been held as Britain's leading newspaper of record, *The Times*.

Scholars over the years have identified two basic features of the coverage of Africa in the western media. Firstly, it has been marginalised, ignored and represented from the western perspectives when covered in the international news. Several studies in a variety of media systems have indicated the western dominance in the coverage of Africa and limited attention paid to the continent; for example see Gerbner and Marvanyi (1983), Screberny Mohammadi (1984, 1995), Harrison and Palmer (1986), Quist-Adade (2000), Golan (2008). This absence of attention to Africa is also apparent in new media studies, which often pay attention to the African continent only within the context of the 'digital divide'. Indeed, Africa in the news media remains an under-reported part of the world (Fahmy 2010:149). Secondly, when it is covered by news outlets in the West, Africa is often represented negatively. To be more specific it is largely reported in the context of what has been identified as the 'coups, famines and wars' syndrome. Public images of Africa are in general mostly negative: AIDS, starvation, corruption, dictatorships, or as one scholar sums it up, a continent of 'poverty and flies' (Palmer 1986:12; see also Michira 2002, Fair 1998, Mackenzie 1984).

This image of Africa has been shaped by the experience of colonialism and colonial representation. Several studies have examined the way in which the colonial powers 'under-developed Africa' (Rodney 1988, Smith 1980, Alleyne 1997, Simonsen 2010, Williams 2011). A former Zimbabwean civil servant summed up the link between colonialism and representation. According to the country's Public Service Commissioner:

The first exposure to Africa for North Americans and European readers has come through the words of the slaves owners. I mention this because the legacy of 300 years of slavery and colonialism runs deep in your



culture. Your history books influence your analysis. A journalist from a developed country is not isolated from [that] legacy (Mandaza 1986: 133).

The exploitative nature of colonialism is emphasised by the statements of those involved in the so-called exploration of Africa in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. One man who figures prominently in this thesis for his part in the colonial conquest of the Congo, Henry Morton Stanley, summed up the relationship between exploration and economic exploitation:

There are 50 million people beyond the gateway to the Congo and the cotton spinners of Manchester are waiting to clothe them. Birmingham foundries are glowing with the red metals that presently will be made into ironwork for them and the trinkets that shall adorn those dusky bosoms, and the ministers of Christ are zealous to bring them, the poor benighted heathens, into the Christian fold (quoted in Smith 1980:25).

The financial and commercial imperatives of colonialism drove men such as Stanley and King Leopold of the Belgians, often supplemented by a commitment to Christian values or a form of colonial 'social justice'. John Mackenzie (1984), in his examination of the role of propaganda in promoting imperial messages in Britain, also draws attention to the importance of imperial expansion to the four corners of the world in resolving some of the tensions within British society. He states:

Through the colonial connection, domestic 'under classes' could become imperial 'over classes'. They could feel part of a national enterprise on which the majority has been able to agree... it was an enterprise tinged with a sense of moral crusade, aided by periodic war, led by charismatic figures, both alive and dead. In its ancestor worship, its emphasis on authority it links tribalism with cultural self-satisfaction and technical advance (Mackenzie 1984: 50).

Mackenzie explores the role of the media and other cultural and educational institutions in promoting and propagating imperial values as well as in presenting particular images and pictures of the societies which were being incorporated into the

British Empire. This thesis takes its cue from Mackenzie and several other authors, like Worsley (1984), who focus on the cultural aspects of Empire and imperial expansion. Much of their discussion of how colonialism and imperialism were sold at home and abroad, including within the colonies, focuses on a broad cultural approach. They look at the media as part of a wider range of political and cultural apparatuses that promote colonialism and colonial values and understanding. There is, however, in their work little or no examination of the content of the media itself to ascertain the nature of the coverage of 'empire' in the past.

The original contribution to knowledge of this thesis is found in: (1) the excavation from the archive and normalisation of the often damaged or corrupted print facsimiles; (2) their analysis and coding; and, (3) the discussion of this under-researched section of colonial literature regarding DR Congo's representation in *The Times* from the colonial period 1885–2006. This has not always been straight forward; problems still exist in seeking access to primary historical materials, they have shaped this study. The ability to access this material, correct and normalise it, and then encode the data has been crucial to the process of completing this work.

The absence of historical content analysis is a feature of media studies. History in general is an area that some media scholars have neglected in their study of the mass media. The immediacy of the media understandably influences their study, which, like those working in the industry is concerned with the 'here and now', rather than the past. This absence has been noted and debated in recent years with attempts to rectify the imbalance (see Curran 1982; Bailey 2009 & O'Malley 2002). Examining historic media coverage has been especially poor in relation to non-western societies. Historical content analysis has perhaps predictably been difficult to undertake in the past. Particularly since access to records and archives can be partial and time consuming. It is only with new technology that the scholar can more easily locate the material required. The feasibility of locating back copies of newspapers from the 19<sup>th</sup> century that have relatively recently been digitised and placed within archives has made this thesis possible. Certainly as more materials, primary, ephemeral and most importantly historical, are brought out of the physical archives and placed within accessible databases and digital archives it can be

expected that a transformation will take place in our understanding of historical reporting and context – and in relation to this thesis, our understanding of colonialism and its representation.

The aim of this thesis is to examine the changing representation of D.R. Congo from 1885–2006. It seeks to identify the *themes* of the coverage in the periods sampled between 1885 and 2006; the *authors* of the articles and commentaries and the standard *discursive conventions and tropes* that they draw upon as well as the *primary sources of information* they cite and the *main images* that pervade the reporting. Scholars talk of the ‘colonial legacy’ or ‘colonial framework’ for the reporting or representation of Africa in the contemporary media. However, what was the reporting of the Congo in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and how does it compare and contrast with contemporary coverage? By looking at how one part of the continent has been covered through access to these new digital archive materials from *The Times* newspaper, we can see how this coverage has changed, if at all, over time; some comments can be made on the legacy of colonialism and the colonial framework which are supposed to underpin contemporary media coverage. Questions can also be asked about whether the Congo has been consistently represented in a stereotypical fashion – that is, in a generalised, partial and selective way which emphasises negative images of the country and its people. The particular geographical region of Africa the thesis focuses on is the D.R. Congo, but in some senses D.R. Congo can act as a synecdoche for the whole of Africa.<sup>1</sup> The main research question for this study is: (1) What have been the changing representations of the Congo in *The Times* 1885–2006? The secondary questions are: (2) Who are the authors of the articles and commentaries and what are the standard discursive conventions and tropes and sources that they draw upon? (3) What are the main topics, stereotypes and images that pervade the reporting and articles?

---

<sup>1</sup> I obviously do not claim that DR Congo is literally representative of the whole of Africa in being a synecdoche. I use this only as a heuristic device to develop the argument of the thesis. Indeed, Africa is a multiplicity in more than one sense of the word. Rather in terms of media representation there are a number of repeated and commonly drawn upon representation stereotypes and forms that are used in the colonial literature which in many cases seek to undermine or extinguish the multiplicity of lived experience in Africa.

My interest in the D.R. Congo is personal. I am Congolese and have directly experienced the suffering of the people in this part of the continent. However, the reason for focussing on the Congo is more than personal. The country has a symbolic location in the European and Western psyche, as exemplified by Joseph Conrad's book, *The Heart of Darkness*, which is seen as exemplifying European fears of Africa. The Congo came into existence at a time of renewed interest in Empire. It was a time of 'a renewed militarism, a devotion to royalty, an identification and worship of national heroes, together with a contemporary cult of personality, and racial ideas associated with Social Darwinism' (Mackenzie 1986:2; see also Zins 1982). The presentation of subject peoples in a range of literature, popular culture (such as musical hall songs), and educational materials was crucial in constructing a sense of self and the 'other'. The Congo is also the country that has, perhaps, suffered most from the legacy of colonialism. Today a war has raged through the country, a war that has lasted decades, which has claimed more than five million lives (CARMA 2006). Despite the level of suffering and casualties, the war has received surprisingly scant attention in the world's press and media. Some would say that this is the fate of all wars in Africa, citing the neglect of the genocide in Rwanda as an example (Melvern 2001, see also CARMA 2006). However, the Congo has, since its independence, encapsulated the problems of the post-colonial world. It is rich in economic resources, minerals and primary products, but has suffered from internal and external interventions, from the civil war that marked its birth as a nation to the political incursions of today from neighbours as well as the superpowers. It is one of the largest countries in Africa. The Congo has boundaries that are fragile as a result of colonial decisions, and it contains a variety of ethnic and cultural divisions. It also has one of the most brutal histories of colonial exploitation. Therefore I argue that studying the representations of the Congo in the media is a paradigmatic example of the legacy of colonialism and problems of post-colonial societies.

The newspaper selected to look at the representation of the Congo is *The Times* of London. Several papers could have been chosen, but *The Times* has been considered throughout its long history - which contrasts to the short lived appearance of some of its competitors - as Britain 'newspaper of record' for the country that

established the world's largest empire. Early on, the newspaper was regarded as a pioneer of foreign news reporting (Thomson 2000: 150). Its first foreign editor, Henry Crabb Robinson, developed a foreign news gathering system in the 1830s that was the envy of the press around the world. He was also the one who persuaded *The Times* to set up a network of regular foreign correspondents which helped to establish the latter part of the nineteenth century as 'the era of great reportage' (Hohenberg 1993:4). *The Times* considered itself as the '*voice of Britain*' for much of its history and prided itself on its close ties with the government of the day, or, as Northcliffe would put it:

My position is merely that one who wishes to see this country represented to the world by an absolutely independent newspaper, always, I trust, in my lifetime, worthy of its high traditions, the organ of neither parties, sects, nor financiers, its columns open to every shade of politics, a newspaper not run as a profit-making machine at all. (quoted in Thomson 2000:152).

The circulation of most of other newspapers was perhaps greater than that of *The Times* for most of the period of this study; its circulation's heyday was in the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but the newspaper's connection with power and political influence was greater than its circulation implied. Its readers were the elite of British society and its expansion around the world was closely tied to the development of the British Empire. Chandrika Kaul (2006) describes the importance of the press to the development of the British Empire. Not only were newspapers part of the communication network that maintained the Empire, the 'steel frame' according to the British Prime Minister Lloyd George (Kaul 2006:3) but they also ran a 'spirited campaign' in favour of the imperial expansion in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Ibid:6). Editors were deeply committed to Empire and put it on their front pages. Colonial wars increased sales and the quality newspapers played a key role in influencing colonial policy and the maintenance of imperial power. Kaul's study of the reporting of the Raj focuses on the politics-press nexus, examining the relationship between the government, press and politicians in the framing of imperial power. It is in essence an institutional study which draws on the letters and papers of key actors and

official documentation of government departments and newspaper files. It is not a detailed content analysis of the press coverage of India. In contrast, this thesis seeks to stress what appears *in* the press, focussing on *The Times*. Study of the output of imperial cinema has been undertaken (Ross 1996, Richards 1996) but there has been no comparable examination of the output of the press. Much of the research on empire and the newspaper, its layout, reporting and values focuses on India (see Kaul 2006) while Africa has received less attention, replicating the scant coverage given to the continent in the contemporary media.

On practical grounds, *The Times* archive is more easily accessible than most of its competitors and it is more discussed. Nevertheless, it was not possible to examine the output of the paper since the birth of the Congo as a colonial entity in 1881 due to its relative absence in the archive prior to that date. Additionally, four analytical periods have been identified as significant periods in colonial history and form the frame in which the content analysis has been undertaken. These periodisations of the material are reflexively analytic and are meant to help develop understanding about the materials within this study. They are, therefore, a frame I have imposed onto the materials and as such I am conscious that they represent a method of analysis within the thesis. No claim is made that these are the terms of understanding that necessarily would have informed either the actors in this historical period, nor the writers of *The Times*, rather they are concepts to help my framing of the debates and representations that were used in the materials uncovered.

Nonetheless, during these periods the representations present within the newspaper have changed. In terms of style, layout and presentation the newspaper evolved, with implications for the way in which stories were handled. The language of the newspaper has also changed over time; the emphasis placed on objectivity has shifted, and the notion of by-lines replaced the anonymity which characterised reporting in the 19<sup>th</sup> century British press. Such changes have to be taken into account in assessing the nature of the coverage and making comparisons across time. What was deemed acceptable practice in the newspapers of the 1880s often became unacceptable to the press in the post-war years. Thus, making assessments about the

nature of its reporting has to take into account the context of the period in which they were produced.

It is also possible to see the representation of Africa as being partly shaped by the nature of the newspaper. Assumptions about what is newsworthy, how issues should be reported and the capacity to collect news are amongst several production factors that could have an impact on the content of the press. There is little history of the changing nature of layout and presentation on the content of newspapers yet this is important as we examine the representation of Africa in *The Times*. I therefore take account of the changing nature of the newspaper, its layout, reporting and values. For example, the importance of 'letters' to the paper in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century is acknowledged through their examination as part of a discourse analysis of the newspaper.

The thesis is divided into the following chapters: the *first chapter* is a study of the history of the Congo. From the perspective of the indigenous population, this is a story of exploitation by the powerful. then this also excited one of 'honour'?. Despite supposed commitments to social justice and improving the conditions of the local population, the colonial powers, in particular the Belgians, perpetrated a sustained campaign to maximise their need for minerals from the Congo. Rich in mineral resources, the Congo was a major prize for European imperialism. Run as a personal commercial fiefdom by the King of Belgium, fearful injustices were put upon the indigenous people. Violence, death and destruction were part of Belgian rule and in many ways the colonial exploitation of the Congo was more ruthless and horrific than most other parts of Africa. However, there was also a campaign against the forced labour and colonial brutalities that characterised Belgian rule. Centred round campaigners such as E.D. Morel and Joseph Conrad, this campaign was a crucial part of the story of colonial intervention in the Congo in the late 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The continued external interventions in the Congo's post-colonial rule are also explored.

The *second chapter* focuses on *The Times* newspaper, its history and role in British society. It describes how the newspaper established itself as a newspaper of record and a confidant of government and those in positions of power. The

development of the newspaper's celebrated international news-gathering system is examined. In particular the newspaper's reporting of Africa and other colonies is discussed.

*Chapter Three* is a review of the academic field related to the representation of Africa. It looks at different studies of the image of Africa in the media, focussing on press and television images in the Western countries. The neglect and negative reporting of the country is documented. This discussion of images is located in a broader overview of the history of the contact between Africa and the West in colonial and post-colonial times. The literature of stereotyping of Africa in the news media is discussed as is the agenda setting function of the press and the nature of news values.

The *fourth chapter* is an outline of the methodology deployed within the thesis to examine the content of *The Times* between 1885 and 2006. A combination of content analysis and discourse analysis is used. The reasons for using these methods are outlined. The drawing up of the sample is described and the obstacles confronted are also discussed.

The *fifth chapter* describes the findings, identifying the nature of representation, the sources used in framing the debate, the kinds and types of stories deployed and the nature of commentary in the editorial and letters columns. The nature of representation is identified in the different periods and comparison is made.

The *sixth chapter* discusses the findings of the analysis of the content of *The Times* reporting of the Congo over more than a hundred years. It describes and discusses the pictures of the Congo that emerge and compares these with the images of Africa that have been identified in previous research. It contrasts the coverage in different periods to see if stereotypical representations prevail over time or alter with changing circumstances. The history of Congo is studied in light of both its emergence as a colonial possession, and how this experience of colonialism was shaped by the Belgium colonial 'masters' and in turn had profound implications for the later Congolese state.



## **Chapter One: Historic Overview of the D.R. Congo**

### ***Introduction***

This chapter provides an historical account to contextualise the representations of the Congo in the British press, which is the central focus of this thesis. It traces the historical evolution of the country from the 1880s. The chapter begins with the geography of the country and then provides a brief outline of the history of the Congolese people from Leopold II, the King of the Belgians, to the current period. The country's political development from colonisation through the collapse of the Congo Free State to decolonisation and independence to the post-colonial regimes of Mobutu and Kabila is described. Attention is also paid to the economic exploitation of both the pre-colonial and modern periods and the evolution of anti-colonial sentiment. The description of the history of the Congo from colonial Africa up to the present day is important as the contemporary situation of the country can only be understood from its historical background, which plays a major role not only in shaping the worldview of the Congolese people but also of how others perceive them today. Like many other nations in Africa, the Congo is now a post-colonial state<sup>2</sup> sharing many of the characteristics associated with this status. The chapter describes the main features of the formation of the society, culture and political state of the country since the beginnings of colonialism, which was a terrible experience for the peoples of Africa in general and the Congolese in particular. The common characteristics of most post-colonial African countries such as national instability, lack of democracy, tribal divisions, religion and loyalty to God and urbanisation are reflected in the Congo's history as a country. The colonial legacy has played a crucial role in shaping popular and international understanding of the country in the contemporary world.

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<sup>2</sup> As a pre-colonial state, the Congo was the Congo Free State.

### *1.1. Congo: place and people*

Before examining the state and its social formation it is important to provide some description of the country, its geography, people and culture. This section begins with an overview of the land and the people who inhabit it, covering how it looks and describing the lives of the people. The colonial development of the Congo shares many of the same features of other African states but there were distinct features in the Congo which had a significant impact on the state and the social formation of the country.

The Congo occupies an area of 2.3 million square kilometres in the heart of Africa. It is landlocked, except for a coastline of forty kilometres, containing the mouth and lower reaches of the Congo River, which connects the country to the Atlantic Ocean (Dunn 2003:21-29). It is the third largest country in Africa after Sudan (which recently split into North and South Sudan) and Algeria. It shares borders with nine countries in central, Eastern and Southern Africa. It is for this reason that it can be described as the heart of Africa. The wildlife of the Congo is as profuse as its vegetation. Large and small mammals, birds and reptiles are found all over the country, while rivers and lakes are stocked with many kinds of fish (Nzongola 2002:26; see also Hochschild 1999; Stanley 1890). The wildlife thrives as a result of the seven great lakes in the country and the hundreds of rivers and smaller lakes. The whole country is served by the Congo River and its many tributaries, the second longest river in Africa and the fifth longest in the world. The Congo is second in the world after the Amazon with respect to hydroelectric potential (Dunn 2003:18).

Economically, the country has enormous wealth in term of natural resources. It is known primarily as a mineral-producing country. The Congo's wide array of minerals include copper, cobalt, tin, zinc, gold, diamond, iron ore, silver, cadmium, uranium, europium, niobium, tantalum and thorium. Some of these minerals are of great strategic value. Additionally, such resources as methane gas from Lake Kivu are concentrated in the North-Eastern region of the country, which also possesses large quantities of gold and diamonds. Although it is not a major producer, the

Congo exploits some crude oil offshore, in its territorial waters along the forty kilometre strip of the Atlantic Ocean (Dunn 2003:19; see also Nzongola 2002). In addition to its mineral wealth, its ecological diversity means that it is also rich in non-mineral goods, including the tropical rainforest in the equatorial zone, the Mayombe forest near the West Coast, another important source of marketable timber, and the productive woodlands and grasslands of the savannah zones north and south of the equator. The natural vegetation comprises many valuable tropical trees such as ebony and mahogany, which are indigenous, as are wild rubber, palm, grape-vines, plantain and banana. Coffee, tea and cotton plants are also major agricultural products (Nzongola 2002:25).

The Congo's territory includes a wide diversity of linguistically and culturally related people, the overwhelming majority of whom entered the country over many centuries in a series of migrations that displaced the original inhabitants, a pygmoid population found today in small numbers in a few remote areas (Dunn 2003:21). Over 99% of the population are black Africans and there are around 200 tribes which are mostly of Bantu origin, the four principal tribes are the Mongo, Kongo, Luba and Mangbetu-Azande. The native populations have traditionally depended on their crops and animal husbandry since long before the colonial period. Other ethnic aliens include Angolans, Sudanese, Zambians, Portuguese, Belgians, Italians, Greeks, Arabs, Lebanese and those from Pakistan and India, who variously settled for business purposes during the colonial period, while the rest of the natives depended on their crops and traditional farming carried out from well before the colonial period (Edgerton 2002:6-7).

These basic facts paint a general picture of the country, its people, land and resources. However, crucial to understanding the nature of the country is its history and in particular its colonial history. Prior to the intervention of the colonial powers the history of the country is obscure, lost due to the lack of historical information about the events and people of the pre-colonial world (Davidson 1978:43).

## 1.2. Political Development

Colonialism came to the Congo with King Leopold of the Belgians, who began his African venture in September 1876, with the establishment of the Brussels International Geographical Conference. Convened by King Leopold, the conference launched an association of business entrepreneurs, geographers and physicians whose declared that their objectives were to learn more about Africa and to fight against the slave trade. Formally the honorary president of the Association Internationale Africaine (AIA),<sup>3</sup> King Leopold was the effective leader of the association and coordinator of the activities of its various national chapters. However, his humanitarian venture for scientific research and economic development disguised colonial aspirations. He sought to develop an empire in central Africa (Keith 1919: 32), and employed several international figures to provide his organisation with credibility, including journalist and explorer Henry Morton Stanley. With Stanley's assistance, he created another organisation, a financial syndicate whose name sought legitimacy by sounding like a research group. It was set up on 25 November 1878. The *Comite d'Etudes du Congo*<sup>4</sup> included among its members the Belgian banker Leon Lambert and William Mackinnon, a British banker, shipping magnate and founder of the Imperial British East Africa Company. The King himself served as president. Stanley was chosen to head an expedition to Africa. In December 1879, the committee became the Association Internationale du Congo<sup>5</sup> (AIC), which was a wholly Belgian operation under Leopold's exclusive control (Anstey 1966:2). Stanley launched an expedition to Central Africa in 1879, with the aim not of furthering humanitarian and scientific causes but to acquire for Leopold a slice of territory in Africa. Using duplicity and force, Stanley obtained treaties from African rulers who handed their territories to the AIC (Congo International Association). The company's flag, a blue standard with a single gold star in the middle was raised on the soil. Stanley laid the infrastructure to exercise control over the country and exploit its resources. He dynamited a road

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<sup>3</sup> AIA: African International Association (Association Internationale Africaine) (author).

<sup>4</sup> Congo Study Committee (Comite d'Etude du Congo) (author)

<sup>5</sup> Congo International Association (Association Internationale du Congo) (author).

through rocky mountain ranges in lower Congo, where the Congo River is not navigable due to rapids, earning the name of Bula Matari, or the smasher of rocks. He went on to establish administrative and trading stations along the river from Boma to Kisangani. Construction of the Kinshasa station on the South bank (Brazzaville) was completed in March 1882, and Stanley reached the site that came to bear his name at the Wagonia Falls on 1 December 1883. The task of establishing the minimum infrastructure of empire kept Stanley in the Congo until June 1884. His work not only provided Leopold with the basic foundations of the empire, but led to the pretexts on which the King could justify his claims to the territories and resources of the Congo basin. Using his personal fortune and diplomatic skills, the King rapidly reaped the rewards of Stanley's achievements by seeking the recognition of his self-proclaimed sovereignty over African territories in Central Africa from the other major imperialists' powers, namely Portugal, Britain, France, Germany and the United States. With the help of an old friend and confidant, the former US Ambassador to Belgium, General Henry Shelton Sanford, Leopold obtained a sympathetic ear from US President Chester Arthur, who called upon Congress to support what the King's lobbyist called a humanitarian venture. On 11 April 1884, the US senate adopted a resolution recognising the AIC flag as that of a friendly power (Dunn 2003:26).

It was the United States rather than the European powers that first recognised Belgian control of the Congo (Conrad 1995:1). Initially there was rivalry with the other European imperial powers; with its claims to the right bank of Malebo Pool and its broader interests in Equatorial Africa. France represented a clear and present danger for Leopold's colonial scheme. The King outsmarted the French policymakers by offering France a first option on his Congolese possessions should the AIC at some point in the future decide to divest itself of these acquisitions. Convinced that Leopold would eventually fail for lack of finances and support from within Belgium, the French agreed to recognise Leopold's sovereignty in the Congo in return for the first option on claims to the territory should it be relinquished by Leopold. It was only in 1960, on the eve of Congo's independence from Belgium that France renounced this right of imperial succession (Dunn 2003:36).

A key stage in the consolidation of Leopold's control over the Congo was the West African Conference held in Berlin between 15 November 1884 and 26 February 1885. France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Sweden-Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Turkey and the United States attended it to discuss freedom of navigation and commerce in the Congo basin. The interests of the AIC were represented by the Belgian delegation, which remained in constant touch with Leopold in Brussels. An American lobbyist also attended the conference as an observer for the King. Although absent from the proceedings, the Belgian monarch thus ensured his interests were fully represented. At the closing ceremony a letter from the Congo International Association informing the conference of its recognition as a sovereign state by all the major powers was read out and applauded by the delegates (Wesseling 1996: 114).

Following this international recognition, Leopold established his personal rule in the Congo in 1885. In April the Belgian parliament passed a resolution authorising him to be sovereign of two independent states simultaneously. This was followed by a royal decree on 29 May proclaiming Leopold's official accession as King-Sovereign of the Congo. The people of the Congo were never consulted, and played no role in the proclamation of their absolute ruler (Louis & Stengers 1968:269; Edgerton 2002; Nzongola 2002). The personal nature of Leopold's rule might have distinguished the Congo from other colonies in Africa, however, there was a scramble by all the European powers to exert their influence across the continent.

The European powers divided up Africa into spheres of influence at the Berlin Conference. Arbitrary territorial boundaries were created for Africa as a whole. Partition was not part of the official business of the conference but negotiations took place behind the scenes in what amounted to preliminary partition on paper. The real scramble for Africa, or partition on the ground took place after the Berlin Conference, as European powers rushed to annex territory through conquest. They attempted to comply with a basic ground rule established under the Berlin Act: effective occupation was the empirical test for legitimate claims to a colonial territory (Louis & Stengers 1968:269). An effective military, or economic and administrative presence were not established in many parts of the continent until

1900. Many claims were settled through negotiations between the colonial powers, although in some cases they were determined by the balance of power, such as in the British-French confrontation at Fashoda (now in present day South Sudan). According to Slade (1962:171), the ultimate significance of the Berlin Conference was an arrogant belief that the European powers had the right to annex African territory for their own advantage. Only Ethiopia under Emperor Menelik II succeeded in checking this arrogance, by its historic victory over Italy in 1896 at the battle of Adwa (quoted in Nzongola 2002: 18).

The Congo was not occupied at the time of partition and its establishment reflected the arbitrariness of the territorial boundaries that colonialism produced in Africa. Stanley's expedition, on which King Leopold's claims were based, had covered the territory along the Congo River from Boma to Kisangani. When the two men sat down to draw up the original map of the Congo on 7 August 1884 at Ostend, it covered much more territory in Central Africa, stretching from the coast to Lake Tanganyika, from four degrees North of the Equator to six degrees South (Nzongola 2002:18). This map was reluctantly accepted by Germany in a bilateral treaty with the Congo International Association, signed on 8 November 1884. Anticipating French objections to the inclusion in this map of the Kouilou-Niari or Pointe Noire region, Leopold went into his study on Christmas Eve, 1884, to ponder over changes in the design. By the stroke of a pencil, he modified the map, giving up the said territory in the southwest and adding in compensation new lands in the Southeast. He extended the map beyond six degrees south of the Equator and annexed the Katanga region which proved to be a matter of conflict after the country's independence in the 1960s. Although the adjustments resulted in the loss of areas rich in oil reserves, such as Pointe Noire and the Cabinda enclave, they represented a masterful stroke with respect to the Katanga Region, which was to prove extremely rich in minerals and which ever since has been the economic capital of the country (Wesseling 1996:117).

### ***Belgian Congo: the Colonial Period***

The arbitrary way in which the Congo was created as a state was matched by the way in which the Belgians ruled the country. As a colony, the Belgian Congo was strongly subject to Leopold's personal guidance as a system of economic exploitation, political repression and cultural oppression. When Belgium took over the running of the Congo in 1908, the Belgian government had to operate on the basis of what had already been established economically and administratively since 1885 (Louis & Stengers 1968: 269).

According to Roger Anstey (quoted in Dunn 2003:25), the government inherited not only a colony, but also a colony possessed of a certain structure. The elements of that structure were a sparse population and a battered customary society; a vast territory which had not been properly administered; a system of direct economic exploitation as a consequence, a people subject to arbitrary abuse and atrocities. The Congo had been run as a personal fiefdom in which the exploitation of people, land and resources went unchecked. Belgium had not developed some of the more positive aspects of colonial intervention that were apparent in other parts of colonial Africa. The lack of central authority was notable. Anstey refutes the assertion of those, like Jean Stengers (quoted in Nzongola 2002:27) who would have us believe that after 1908 'the special characteristics of the Congo Free State disappeared'. On the contrary, Anstey argues that there was no major departure from the broad lines of the original Belgian comportment in the Congo that the legacy had done so much to determine. The first step in this refinement was a response to public opinion in Europe and North America: the adoption of a colonial constitution, the '*Charte Coloniale*' (Colonial Charter), drafted by men who were major shareholders in Belgian companies with financial interests in the colony. More clearly than elsewhere, it was in the Belgian Congo that the model of colonialism was most clearly manifested. Central to the Belgian interest in the region was the economic exploitation of the resources of the Congo (Slade 1962:171).



### ***Economic Exploitation***

The human rights abuses associated with the Congo today came about as a consequence of the economic exploitation of the country, which was the main motive for colonisation. Economic exploitation in the Belgium Congo was built on the legacy of the Free State which witnessed the Congo as a major source of capital accumulation for Belgium (Louis & Stengers 1968:267), providing the revenue for the construction in Belgium of public buildings, highways and other public projects dear to King Leopold. The colony also played a crucial role in rescuing the metropolitan power from its financial troubles during and after both world wars. Vital support for the moribund Belgian state during the Second World War was acknowledged by Robert Godding, the Belgian colonial affairs minister in 1945-46, who noted that during the war, the Congo financed all the expenditures of the exiled Belgian government in London, including the diplomatic service and the cost of the armed forces in Europe and Africa, a total of some million pounds. The Belgian government in London had not borrowed a shilling or a dollar, and the Belgian gold reserve had been left intact. The colony was able to do this because of the war effort, but this imposed severe hardships on the Congolese people (Slade 1962:177).

### ***Human Rights Abuses***

The indigenous people under the Congo Free State and the colonial administration were simply another resource in the exploitation of the country. Beginning in 1891, the Congolese were required by law to supply labour, rubber and ivory to Leopold's Agents. The killing of elephants for their tusk, whose ivory was greatly in demand abroad for piano keys and other goods, was carried out on a very large scale. More significant than the ivory, however, it was the collection of wild rubber. This required great movements of people and resulted in the depopulation of entire villages, a brutal policy of forced labour which perpetrated heinous crimes against humanity in the Congo. Villages unwilling or unable to meet the assigned daily

quotas of production were subject to forced labour, which included rape, arson, bodily mutilation and murder. As one contemporary commentator reported:

Each town and district is forced to bring in a certain quantity of rubber to the headquarters of the Commissionaire every Sunday. It is collected by force; the soldiers drive the people into the bush. If they will not go, they are shot down, and their hands cut off and taken as trophies to the Commissaire ... these hands, the hands of men, women and children, are placed in rows before the Commissaire who counts them to see that the soldiers have not wasted cartridges (quoted in Zins 1998: 60).

This violence did not meet the definition of genocide in international law: 'acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, it resulted in a death toll of holocaust proportions' (Dunn 2003:31). Yet it is estimated that 10 million people lost their lives under the ironically named Free State of Congo owned by the King of the Belgians (Ibid: 31). A population calculated to be between 20 and 30 million people at the beginning of the colonial era, was reduced to 8.5 million by 1911 and 10 million in 1924, according to official census data (Ibid:33). Congo was a state in which its native inhabitants were not citizens and had no democratic rights, but were enslaved subjects of a sovereign they did not see. During his 23-year tenure as the Congo's sovereign, Leopold II never put his feet on Congolese soil. He thus ruled the country as an absentee landlord and the majority owner of a joint-stock company who left the day-to-day affairs to professional managers. He had no respect for international legal obligations to guarantee freedom from slavery or to promote free trade in the Congo basin.

The only freedom that existed in this realm was for the Belgian King, his business partners and his agents to plunder the country. The spoils of plunder constituted huge capital flows into Belgium. Leopold displayed exceptional generosity in the disbursement of his newfound wealth in a grandiose policy of public works and urban improvement in Belgium. The magnificent 'Arcade du Cinquantenaire in Brussels', the famous Tervuren Museum, extensions to the Royal Palace, public works at Ostend, and various urban building schemes - all were

funded by the Congo Free State. These were, however, significantly for the benefit of the few (Johnston 1911: 237).

### *1.2. Experiencing Colonialism*

Colonialism was a terrible experience for the native people of Africa. The exploitation of the local people varied across the continent, but the Congo came to symbolise the most brutal aspect of European subjugation of Africans. The policy of Leopold II in the Congo Free State has regularly been attacked, most recently in a BBC documentary “White King, Red Rubber, Black Death”. As indicated, more than 10 million Congolese are assumed to have died under the rule of Leopold II. These deaths and the cruelties that accompanied them were the result of the system of licensing that King Leopold II had set up for the exploitation of rubber and other resources. The indigenous people were brutalised, weakened and killed by the forced labour used to collect rubber or mine resources.

King Leopold’s priorities were never in Africa, but in Belgium. He was both reluctant to tie up long-term capital in the Congo and determined to obtain quick and sizeable returns. The resulting capital shortage heavily affected the organisation and functioning of the colonial administration, but as well as inciting a continuous rush for the collection of easy revenue; it significantly weakened the fabric of the Congo Free State. The loose network of posts backed up by mobile military columns was grossly inadequate for the routinized exercise of state power, so central support and control functions were reduced to a minimum, communications remained poor and state officials and armed forces were inadequately provisioned, often leading them to fend for themselves. The state thus fragmented into a number of semi-autonomous plunder economies, with officials who were forced into a parasitic relationship with their environment, scrambling for the food, labour and revenues they required. The natives were ignored, as if they did not exist. If they existed at all they were enslaved to support the production for this Western enterprise (Edgerton 2002; Hochschild 1999; Roes 2010; Zins 1998).

### *Anti-Colonialism Sentiment*

The viciousness of the Belgian regime, however, sparked another aspect of colonialism that is not as regularly mentioned in the history of the country. The Congo Reform Association was established to fight against the excesses within the Congo Free State. Set up in 1890, the Association documented the 'carnival of massacres' perpetrated by the colonists. Led by E.D. Morel, the cruelties and exploitation of the Free State were documented. Morel wrote in 1904 that:

From 1890 onwards the records of the Congo State have been literally blood-soaked ... There were atrocities committed upon young children by the State's soldiers and the 'prime movers' ... [Yet] the diabolic and unholy so-called civilising power are actuated, we are told, by sincere love for their fellow-men and black brothers (quoted in Zins 1998: 60).

Morel was an effective campaigner and organiser and produced pamphlets and books which had an impact on public opinion in Britain and international opinion about the Congo. He was among the first of the outspoken critics of Leopold's regime in the media (Zins 1998:58; see also Stengers 1963). As an anti-imperialist he associated colonialism with the 'old story of evil, greed and lust perpetrated upon a weaker people' (Zins 1998:62). He published two influential books: *History of the Congo Reform Movement* (1896) and *King Leopold's Rule in Africa* (1904) which placed a large amount of data and documentation about the mismanagement of the Congo by Leopold's administration. These not only concerned individual wrongs by Europeans on Africans, but also highlighted the failings of the system of forced labour and forced production, identifying two essential characteristics: denial to the natives of any rights to their land, and denial to the natives of any income from commercial products produced on their land. These iniquities were compounded by the use of physical violence to compel the Africans to work for the Europeans (Zins 1998:62).

Morel's campaign against the evils of the Congo Free State found support in a variety of quarters, most famously Joseph Conrad's novel *The Heart of Darkness*. Charles Dilkes, a former senior Foreign Office official, wrote in the July issue of *Cosmopolis* of 1896 about conditions in the Congo, referring to ivory-stealing, village-burning, flogging and shooting (Zins 1998:64). Similarly, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle published a pamphlet in 1909 entitled *The Crime of the Congo*. However, the driving force behind Morel's organisation was Roger Casement, the Irish patriot who was executed for treason in 1916. Casement had served as a British diplomatic official in the Congo, he travelled around the Congo to witness the atrocities first hand (Ibid: 64). His role in the campaign has been neglected due to his notoriety. However, as Zins (1998:64) notes, he reported and documented slavery and human massacres from within the Congo as early as 1890, only five years after the partitions of Africa at the 1885 Berlin Conference. Other travellers and missionaries reported the atrocities they witnessed in the Congo to their respective countries and governments in America and Europe. As a result, the Congo Reform Association was able to challenge King Leopold II of the Belgians and his business associates all over the world. Articles were published in newspapers and magazines throughout Europe, including inside Belgium itself, in an attempt to address injustices and human right abuses in the Congo. Joseph Conrad's novel *The Heart of Darkness* was part of this campaign.

Zins (1998:64) notes that Joseph Conrad's role as a political writer took a long time coming. Colonial themes play an enormous role in his writings, calling 'attention to the horrors of the political realities overlooked by English citizens and politicians'. The colonial exploitation of Africans and their territories was one of his main concerns. His criticism of imperialism and colonialism, as well as his sympathy for its victims was drawn from his Polish background and his own personal suffering. He had experienced the suffering of people living under foreign occupation. He described imperialism as 'robbery with violence, aggravated murder on a great scale' (Ibid:64). *The Heart of Darkness* is based on Conrad's experience in the Congo in 1890, when he met Roger Casement. He only stayed in the Congo for a brief period and did not have much time to observe the Belgian oppression.

However, even on the basis of limited evidence Conrad conveyed the nature of the rubber and ivory trade in the Congo Free State. He also talked with people both in Africa and England. Apart from Casement, his sources were traders, missionaries and English friends both in Britain and in Africa. Conrad's critique of conditions in the Congo was strengthened by the accounts he heard in England about the mismanagement of affairs in King Leopold's Congo.

It was a report by Casement on the Congo, worked up in 1903 for the British government that gave the most complete analysis of the situation for Africans in the country. Casement reported from the interior of the Congo. Whole villages and districts that he knew well and had visited as flourishing communities in 1887 had been reduced to a handful of sick and harassed people wondering whether the situation would last forever. Casement described bodily mutilations, which made a most terrible impression on him. A group of Africans visited him at the Baptist Missionary Society's Balolo mission, bringing with them a boy of about sixteen whose right hand had been cut off at the wrist by a 'sentry' of one of the rubber companies to compel workers to collect more wild rubber (quoted in Zins 1998:62). Casement's report for the British Foreign Office was a sixty-one page record of his journey up the Congo River, full of documentary evidence, giving shocking proof of atrocities committed by the Congo Free State authorities and by white traders in that country. In his book published the next year, *King Leopold's Rule in Africa*, Morel substantiated Casement's findings with many examples of mutilations and a horrifying picture of colonial cruelty.

The mutilation of the dead and of the living was assigned to the direct instigation of state officials and agents of the Trusts appointed to run the rubber districts. The soldiers let loose through the country ... have been required to bring back tangible proof that proper punishment was inflicted, and the hands of slain, or partly slain, people were the readiest and most acceptable form of proof (Morel 1906 cited in Hargreaves 1988:22-3; see also Roes 2010).

The publication of Casement's report in 1903 was a minor cause celebre, though the British government responded cautiously to the publication. The Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, realised that it would make 'a great noise in England' (Zins 1998:64). The British government insisted that names used in the report were

removed from the document. However, questions were raised in Parliament and the country about the conditions in the Congo. Morel and Casement thus mobilised public opinion in Britain against what was happening in the Congo Free State (Morel 1906; Anstey 1966; Louis & Stengers 1968; 2008). Britain, however, was cautious about criticising the colonial venture, but happily used the report as part of their imperial struggles with the Belgians.

Morel's campaign was not typical of the era. The prevailing climate of Victorian Britain was of racism, biological determinism; colonial expansion and an imperial philosophy (see Mackenzie 1984; Kiernan 1995; Merrill & Fisher 1980:325). The anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism of Morel, Conrad and Casement stands out as exceptional, as does their humane attitude towards the African victims of European imperialism (Zins 1998:65). At that time, most people in Britain believed in the Empire. Imperial expansion was held to be in the interests of employment, markets, civilization, security and future greatness. For example, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebration in 1897 was a great imperial pageant. At the time the Congo Reform Association was campaigning for change, imperial sentiments and euphoria about Britain had reached their zenith. It was not fashionable to describe colonialism in terms of pillage, violence and killing on a mass scale. However, their campaign was to contribute to the collapse of Leopold's system of government and administration in the Congo.

### *1.3. The Collapse of the Congo Free State*

The activities of the Congo Reform Association 'contributed greatly to the eventual downfall' of the Free State and the annexation of the Congo by Belgium (Zins 1998: 63). They had played their part in mobilizing public opinion in Britain against the Free State system. The King's policy in the Congo had opponents in Belgium who used the campaign launched by Morel to mobilise for change. The Belgian Parliament forced Leopold to set up an independent commission of inquiry, and, despite the King's opposition, in 1905 it confirmed Casement's report. Action was also demanded by other European powers and the United States and, under pressure,

the King offered to reform the running of the Free State. Few believed him, and with international support for the end of his personal rule mounting, he was not able to deny the calls for change. However, change did not mean allowing the land to be returned to the Congolese population. What came about was that Belgium should run the Congo. Many Belgians were reluctant, and for two years there was a debate about the question, even entering elections on the issue. In 1908 the Belgian government eventually annexed the Congo. This annexation may have reduced the worst excesses of Leopold's regime, but it did not fundamentally change the position of the indigenous people of the Congo. Their rights were still limited, and inequalities remained. While wages and economic conditions improved, the ordinary Congolese worker earned relatively little, compared to the wealth flowing out of the country and into the hands of the companies and governments of Europe and the United States. Africans were allowed to work as manual labourers in the rubber plantations and the diamond, cobalt, and copper mines. They had little opportunity to run their own affairs. Unlike the French and British, Belgium overtly excluded Africans from senior positions in government and the economy, as well as higher education. Indigenous newspapers and native political parties were prohibited. Those Africans who tried to educate themselves were subjected to harassment and detention (Zins 1998:65). Belgium resisted independence for the Congo longer than the other colonial powers in Africa – with the exception of Portugal. An advisory committee set up in 1959 stated that independence could only be considered possible at earliest thirty years ahead. However, whatever the colonial power believed the people of the Congo had had enough (Ibid).

#### *1.4. Decolonisation of the Congo*

For the whole period of Belgian rule, the Congo was held together by a solid Belgian presence, which ensured the administration and essential services. Belgian policy had been based initially upon the assumption that Belgium would supervise the entire transformation of the Congo from a backward and underdeveloped country dependent on the colonial power to a fully industrialised modern state capable of



running its own affairs (Slade 1962:171). The Belgians seem to have ruled out full independence and to have assumed that eventually the Congo would be integrated with Belgium in some form of federal union. Certainly, no one envisaged a time when final responsibility for the Congo would be out of Belgian hands. As a result, a horizontal rather than a vertical system of development was adopted, aimed at raising the living standards and the education of the whole population a few degrees, rather than rapidly elevating a small elite to which power could be transferred (Slade 1962:171).

The Belgians intended that the Africans should slowly take responsibility, gradually from the bottom up, and that, in the meantime, the top positions in all sections of society should be held by expatriate Belgians. No African should hold a post until he was as well qualified as the Belgian he replaced. In this way they hoped to build up a local administration which would be the equal of that operating in metropolitan Belgium. They regarded themselves as holding the Congo in trust for the Africans, and at no time did they consider giving power to settlers, as Britain had done in Kenya and Rhodesia (Hoskyns 1965:2). In order that this policy might be given time to work, Belgium tried to isolate the Congo from Europe and from other parts of Africa. Legislation restricting the right of association made it possible to prevent the development of local political parties. Africans were discouraged from visiting or studying in Europe and from moving from province to province. In theory the grades of the administration were open to all; in fact, Africans, even if highly trained, almost always found themselves in the lower grades with inferior rates of pay and terms of service. In theory, again, racial discrimination was discouraged however, the system as it was operated made a social colour bar almost inevitable (Ibid:8).

### *Independence*

In 1957 and 1958 this isolation began to break down. The pace of change in the countries surrounding the Congo and beginnings of nationalism in the Congo itself made the Belgians realise that some modification of their ideas, some speeding up of the process, would be necessary. As a result, a special study group was set up in July

1958 and a new Minister for the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi was appointed in November to speed up the process (Edgerton 2002:185).

In May 1960 in a growing nationalist movement (the Movement National Congolais or MNC party) led by Patrice Lumumba won the parliamentary elections. The party appointed Patrice Lumumba as the Prime Minister and Joseph Kasavubu of the Alliance des Bakongo (Abako party) as the president. Belgian Congo achieved Independence on 30 June 1960 under the name 'la Republique du Congo' or the 'Republic of Congo' and Joseph Kasavubu was the first president. From independence until 1965, Katanga province and South Kasai led by Moise Tshombe was engaged in a struggle against the new leadership which had led the country's independence movement. Crisis, rebellion, and the intervention of UN, United States and Soviet Union ensued. A bloody civil war was the result which included the assassination of the Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba (Edgerton 2002: 185; Hoskyns 1965: 6). The eventual outcome was the establishment of a dictatorship.

### ***Mobutu's Regime***

President Mobutu exercised power from 24 November 1965 until 17 May 1997 (Dunn 2003, 95-111, Braeckman 1991). For a quarter of a century, between 1965 and 1990, he was the undisputed master of the country. He was the 'big man' and the new king of the Congo. He was the true successor to King Leopold II as the owner and the political leader of the country and its resources. His personal rule was illustrated in 1977 when he unilaterally changed the country's name to Zaire. Throughout his rule he privatised the country's assets for the benefits of his relatives, cronies and clients (Nzongola 2002:141).

Mobutu's ascendancy was only part of the function of his own personal qualities. For the most part he owed his rise to power and the astonishing longevity of his regime to external sponsorship and backing by the United States and its Western allies (Dunn 2003:112). He benefitted from the Cold War, in which he sided with the West against the Soviet Union. His regime was thus an externally backed autocracy, both distant from its own society, impervious to popular aspirations and

increasingly dependent on physical force and violence to maintain itself. Its growing dislocation from the people and the collapse of the Berlin Wall eventually led to the collapse of regime as the Cold War had outwardly ended and communism was no longer a threat in Central Africa. This was due in large to the increasingly corrupt mode of governance by the president and his large entourage of relatives, senior aides and political associates, plus cabinet ministers and managers of state enterprises (Dunn 2003:113). As a system of absolute power, dictatorship and personal rule, the Mobutu regime ended in 1990, with the official demise of the Second Republic and its party-state system, and the beginning of the transition to multiparty democracy. However, the wily dictator was still hanging on to the helm of his sinking ship of state seven years later, when Laurent Kabila and his Rwandan backers dispatched him into exile on 17 May 1997 (Nzongola 2002:141).

### ***Kabila's Regime***

Laurent Kabila was propelled to power by regional dynamics, of which the Congolese people did not know the details. He proclaimed himself as the president of Congo on 17 May 1997. He joined the rebellion to overthrow Mobutu on 18 October 1996 in South Kivu, nearly two months after the beginning of an offensive from Rwanda. Laurent Kabila headed the coalition of a few Congolese associates who had been living in exile in Europe and America. However, he was assassinated in 2001. A few days later, he was replaced by his son Joseph Kabila who is the current president of Congo (Nzongola 2002:225). Since the end of the Mobutu regime the country has been beset by internal civil unrest and war, as well as external intervention from neighbouring countries. It is estimated that more than 5 million people have died in these conflicts.

### ***1.5. Post-Colonial Africa***

This summarised history of the Congo firmly situates the country today within the context of post-colonial Africa. Many of the main features of the country's social, political, economic and cultural life are what is labelled 'post-colonial' According to

Werbner and Ranger (1996:7) the post-colonial period is used to describe the identity, the concerns and struggles of African peoples after the colonial period. De Broek (in Werbner & Ranger 1996:8) argues that many people in Africa have had no choice but to continue living in an environment which is hostile and inimical to their concerns and needs. He stresses that the complex, chaotic and violent everyday existence of Africans reflect not only the legacy of colonialism but the break-up of the dictatorships that previously held their societies together. He further says that Africans might be forgiven for expressing a preference (as they often disconcertingly do) for the apparent authoritarian stability and discipline of colonialism rather than of the confusion and uncertainty of post-colonialism (Ibid:9).

Mudimbe (1988:22) believes post-colonialism is a constructive relationship of the north and the south of the globe: the way in which the two reproduce and reinforce the identity of each other, both in the colonial past and the post-colonial present are key insights and concerns of post-colonial thinking. Africa today can only be understood through its relationship to the rest of the world. There are various characteristics of post-colonial Africa that are related to the history of the Congo and its current situation (see also Furedi 1994).

### ***National Instability***

Decolonisation was never really a complete process. There were limits to the independence acquired in political, cultural, and economic terms. Each independent nation found itself tied up to a whole system or network of economic controls and conditions. Partly these controls and conditions were exercised and imposed by the world economic system, and no country could escape from them. Partly they were a carry-over, or a continuation, of the controls and conditions of this or that colonial system (Werbner & Ranger 1996:12). Other limits were in the field of culture and education. There was a significant continuation from the colonial period, in terms of ideas, schooling and teaching that reflected these times. There were also limits on the powers of independence in the political field, limiting the degree to which new nations were really free to govern themselves and settle their affairs in their own way. For example, in the nations of the former French empire, these limits were an

attempt by the former colonial powers to retain an indirect control, to govern indirectly through 'convenient partners' (Ibid: 12). This continued attempt at overseas control, led by indirect means, became widespread after independence. It was termed neo-colonialism, meaning one-sided attempts to tie the new nations to the interests and needs of those outside powers. For instance, Mobutu's regime in the Congo had been backed for many years by external powers, mainly France and the United States and its associates in Europe (Dunn 2003:192).

### *Lack of Democracy*

In the post-independence era in Africa, the creation of a one party state has often strengthened the position of authoritarian leaders. On this continent the creation of one party states and military dictatorship becomes directly associated with the decline of a democracy ironically invoked by the leaders. The question arises whether Africa required a variation of democracy (Villiers 1976:69). Democracy was designed for pluralistic societies and yet Africa, where the largest number of pluralistic societies in the world is to be found, is the scene of the decline of democracy (Ibid). Even in southern Africa, the bastion of Africa's multi-party states, the number of these states decreased when Zambia became a one-party state, and military leaders took over the government in Madagascar while the constitutions of Lesotho and Swaziland were also suspended. Even in many of Africa's so called multi-party states the rulers became dictators and there was little evidence of freedom of expression and suffrage which form part of normal democracy (Ibid). While struggling to become independent, most of the African leaders gave recognition to democracy and expressed their desire to uphold democratic principles. This applied particularly to the leaders of the former British colonies, of which Nigeria and Ghana were two outstanding examples. These countries were held up as examples of the success with which democracy could be transplanted to the African continent. They were the show pieces of democracy in Africa. For example, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, governor-general and later president of Nigeria, was strongly in favour of democracy during a speech on July 31, 1959 (Ibid:70). However, the early flourishing of democracy during democratic political participation soon gave way to

the rise of authoritarianism as most African leaders use this to desensitise their people so that they stay in power. The former dictator Mobutu of Zaire, currently Congo, used his tribesmen to maintain his power. The same thing seems to be happening today with Joseph Kabila<sup>6</sup> who is using the same strategy. Several factors serve to undermine the practice of democracy in decolonised Africa. Ethnic heterogeneity stands in the way of national unity, which is important to accelerated development (Villiers 1976; Peuchot 2011).

### ***Ethnic division***

One of the outstanding characteristics of conflict in Africa is its tribal struggles. One of the worst manifestations of tribalism in Africa is the hostility that periodically flares up, for instance in the former British colony of Kenya or the Belgian trust territories of Rwanda and Burundi between Hutus and Tutsis. As in the case of the Hausa conflict in Nigeria, the Hutu-Tutsi in Rwanda and Kikuyu-Luo in Kenya, these confrontations have overtones of tribalism (Villiers 1976:68).

Before colonialism, Africans had worked out their own way of community life, of living together and governing themselves through many centuries. They had created a very large number of different communities or states. Some of these were famous empires or big states whose kings ruled over several or many communities (Davidson 1994:70). Others were states whose kings ruled over a single community, yet many communities had no kings or chiefs, but independent village governments led by groups of elders. Each of these old communities had its own territories, languages, beliefs and loyalties (Ibid:71). Various kinds of political structure had held them together. It was largely the strength of kinship, together with beliefs that bound people to their rulers, or their ancestral shrines and spirits. Age and life experience were the 'cement' that could unite men and women of a community's various families or family groups. When the colonies were formed, the new European rulers understood little or nothing about this long and complex

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<sup>6</sup>Peuchot, the European Union representative, criticised the Congolese results in the re-election of the current president, Joseph Kabila (From [https://mg.co.za/Articles/ EU "Chaotic-DRC Election-results"](https://mg.co.za/Articles/EU%20Chaotic-DRC%20Election-results); accessed December 14, 2011).

development of African political units. They simply thought that Africans lived in tribes, even though nobody knew what the word “tribe” was supposed to mean (Villiers 1976:63). These systems ran into difficulty whenever communities would not accept the imposed “invented chiefs”. Sometimes such situations caused continuous trouble, as in Eastern Nigeria where the British made use of so-called “warrant chiefs”. These were invented chiefs who were supposed to rule over the Ibo communities, but who did not hitherto have chiefs. However, still the colonial policy of inventing chiefs remained in force, notably by the numerous communities controlled by the British in East Africa (Ibid: 64). Gradually, in many regions of the Congo and the neighbouring countries, the invention of chiefs was successful, creating two results. One was the combining of several neighbouring communities under a single chief, or Paramount, as he was often called. The other was the treating of these combined communities as if they had always formed a single people. Inventing chiefs led to invented tribes (Ibid), and this is the reason why in the Congo (and in many other African countries), there are many tribes that speak a similar dialect but with slight differences. For example, there are tribes such as the Alur, Azande, Bangala, and Bakongo in the Congo, who are also found in Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, Chad, Kenya, etc. These people resemble one another, share the same values, culture and even names, but they now belong to different African countries that are largely European inventions from the days of the ‘scramble for Africa’.

### ***Religion***

Loyalty to God and religion has been powerful in modern Africa. These have sometimes been helpful in their unifying effects, and sometimes destructive in their divisiveness (Davidson 1994:75). Over time, Christianity and Islam were sometimes in conflict with one another. Records of Christianity in Africa go back many centuries, to the period after the life of the prophet Muhammad. The moral values and political methods associated with the beliefs of Islam played a leading role in the formation and government of ancient states in the grassland countries, and continued to do so during later upheavals (Ibid:76). There were many Muslims in post-colonial Africa who believed that salvation must lie in a strict return to the ancient beliefs and

practices of Islam. This loyalty to Islam took an increasingly specialized form, an extremism known as fundamentalism, a return to the foundations of Islam. This way of looking at religion created war in Nigeria in the 1960s and recently in Sudan<sup>7</sup> (Berkeley Centre 2011; Werbner & Ranger 1996).

### ***Urbanisation***

The problem of urbanization is aggravated by the fact that only a limited number of jobs are available. The rural dweller with no other skills than physical manpower is attracted to the city with stories of wealth, excitement and a glittering life, only to discover that in harsh reality there is no job for him. And so, far from enjoying a rich and glittering life, former rural dwellers join the ever growing number of unemployed living in the shanty towns. Each year, the reservoir of unemployed becomes larger. Continuing inadequacies in government planning and policy in most states results in less chance of eliminating the surplus of unemployed, let alone providing new employment opportunities for those who annually add to the labour force (Gordon & Gordon 2006). Related to this problem is the escalating population increase in Africa. With an average growth rate of around 2.8%, Africa's population will double by the turn of the century (Ibid). Kinshasa is just one example of urbanisation and over-population.

### ***Summary***

A brief history of the Democratic Republic of Congo has been put forward in this chapter. It demonstrates that the country was a western invention with its creation at the Berlin Conference in 1885, during which the colonial powers partitioned the African continent between them without consulting indigenous Africans. The Berlin Conference not only gave the King of the Belgians the power to officially acquire a slice of territory in central Africa but it also paved the way to the colonisation and economic exploitation of the African people and their natural resources. The Anglo-American journalist Henry Morton Stanley and western business interests, such as

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<sup>7</sup> Berkeley Centre for Religion, Peace & World Affairs; Case Study Series; Georgetown University accessed from [http://repositoryberkeleycentre.georgetown.edu/110523 Sudan\[Final\].pdf](http://repositoryberkeleycentre.georgetown.edu/110523%20Sudan[Final].pdf)



Leon Lambert and the British Banker William Mackinnon supported the initiatives of King Leopold II to carry out his 'business adventure' on Congolese soil.

A reform movement to free the Congolese people from King Leopold's regime of exploitation, human rights abuses and violence started five years after the official creation of the Congo Free State in 1890. E.D. Morel's campaign against the Congo Free State found support in a variety of quarters, most famously in Joseph Conrad's novel *The Heart of Darkness*.

This chapter has shown that attempts to achieve justice for the Congo existed alongside the arrogant belief that European powers, expressed in the Berlin Conference, had the right to annex African territory for their own advantage. Contesting images of what the West was doing in the Congo were established. The arbitrary territorial boundaries set by the conference are the cause of the divisions among Congolese and other African countries which exist to date.

The Congo came to symbolise the most brutal aspects of European subjugation of Africans. Congolese leaders who took over after independence inherited, but did not create, the culture of economic exploitation which had been happening since 1885. The country's mineral and natural resources were initially misused by the colonial powers and, after independence, by Congolese leaders for their own gain. The Congo, like any other post-colonial African country, has had to face a variety of challenges since independence in 1960, such as lack of democracy, rapid urbanisation, ethnic division, and political instability, resulting in on-going wars and conflicts. Congolese people have not had the opportunity to choose their own destiny and to speak for themselves because of regular and continuous outside intervention and interference, which began at the Berlin Conference. The setting up of the Free State, Anglo-Saxon intervention to oust Leopold and Belgian colonial rule were direct interference in the country. Interventions have taken a range of forms since independence, including various UN incursions and invasions by neighbouring powers, supported or not by western powers. Post-colonial Congo is a failed state subject to political instability, economic underdevelopment and social deprivation and as such is beset by a complexity of problems. The extent to which the problems and issues created by such interventions and the complicated and

complex nature of post-colonial states are reflected in the history of the reporting that will be discussed later.

## **Chapter Two: History of *The Times***

### ***Introduction***

The history of *The Times* newspaper laid out in this chapter is an aid to understanding the publication that has been chosen to examine the representations of Africa, and in particular the Congo, since the nineteenth century. The development of the newspaper's style, the establishment of its reputation and the creation of a foreign news service, which, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, was the envy of the world's press, are all part of the effort to paint a picture of the publication under study. *The Times* has been one of the leading newspapers of the British Empire over the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Additionally, it was intimately tied up with British imperial expansion; many of the explorers who claim to have discovered Africa including the Congo, used *The Times* to publish and share their experiences and adventures. The newspaper also was instrumental in promoting the cause of Empire. It played a key role in policy debates as, according to one commentator, the extent of the paper's newspaper newsgathering rivalled that of the government, ensuring that its interpretation of events defined the parameters of political debate (Merrill & Fisher 1980:325). This chapter briefly discusses the early beginnings of *The Times*, from its founder John Walter and his successors, including its rapid expansion. The role of *The Times* in the British Empire, its decline in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and its controversial acquisition by Rupert Murdoch's company are all examined.

### ***2.1. Early beginnings***

The founder of *The Times* was John Walter (1738-1812). Walter began his business career at an early age, immediately after the death of his father (Barnes 1935:1). In 1785, *The Times* began as small sheet called the *Daily Universal Register*, after three years, its founder and editor, John Walter, changed its name to *The Times*. Walter wanted his paper to be 'a register of *The Times*, a faithful recorder of all species of intelligence and independent of any party', but because of his financial problems, the

paper fell far short of this, even stooping at times to taking government subsidized and edited news and to print sensational scandal (Merrill & Fisher 1980:325). This was clearly deceitful, and Walter was also in receipt of a subsidy from the government and, like most newspapers of this era, made his money from 'insertions and contradictions fees' (Smith 1980:97).

Political allegiances were commonplace, as eighteenth century newspapers served as the voices of political parties, political factions or individual politicians. During the winter of 1788-9, *The Times* was conspicuous among the London dailies for devotion to the King's Regency. When, in February, 1789, it was announced and certified that the King's mind was 'as sane as it had ever been', there was an outburst of national jubilation, and *The Times* printed article after article attacking the opponents of the monarch. Its rejoicing was shown in lines of capitals, in italic epigrams and in displayed verses. The reader was asked 'to determine to which paper he ought to give credit, to *The Times* which, through the whole of this important and melancholy state of the kingdom, had preserved its fidelity to its sovereign' (Merrill & Fisher 1980:325).

The early death of John Walter I might have meant that the newspaper would have remained as just another political organ. However, his son, John Walter II, succeeded his father in 1803, and was not only a newspaper man but also a gifted businessman. He was able to take advantage of the changing technological, social and political circumstances that characterised Britain at the start of the nineteenth century. As a result he was able to transform the paper, making it the dominant player in the British newspaper market up until the 1860s (Merrill & Fisher 1980:325).

## **2.2. *Rapid Expansion***

The ability of *The Times* to exert an almost complete influence over the newspaper market in the first part of the nineteenth century was due to several factors. Walter took full advantage of the technological changes that took place in newspaper

production, such as by investing in new printing technology. His purchase of a Koenig's steam press meant he could print more copies of his paper per hour than his rival (Clarke 2004:225). In 1828 he purchased the latest technology of the time, Applegarth and Cowper presses, which further increased the number of copies he could print per hour - 400 sheets per hour (Ibid 2004: 226). Walter's willingness to embrace new printing technology and his acumen of investing early in its development meant that he was able to surge ahead of his rivals. The paper's circulation rapidly surpassed that of his rivals and it helped to set the tone of success. This was further helped by the system of distribution he developed: first by horse and coach and then by railway (Ibid).

The ability of *The Times* to become more than one of a number of successful London dailies was the perception that Walter had of his newspaper as a business rather than a vehicle for the promotion of his own views and opinions. He was, as Bob Clarke (2004:226) puts it, 'essentially a businessman' and 'his role was to establish an infrastructure that enabled the paper to expand'. This was something we are told his father disapproved of, and he had attempted to make a will to prevent his son exercising total control over the paper (Smith 1979:100). However, this appears to have been ineffective and the son undertook two things which were significant: he maximised the role of advertising in the financing of his newspaper and left the journalism to the journalists he employed. Both of these factors united to provide the basis of the paper's success (Ibid).

Leaving the daily running of the news operation of the paper to his editor was a crucial decision. First under Thomas Barnes (1817-41), and later John Delane (1841-77), the journalism of the paper thrived. Barnes did a number of things to ensure that *The Times* paved the way for the newspaper's supremacy in the field of journalism. He expanded the content of the newspaper and developed the paper's reputation for newsgathering. Crucially, the paper pioneered the development of specialist correspondents, most notably in the field of foreign news. In the early nineteenth century there was great public interest in the progress of the Napoleonic Wars, and Walter encouraged the building up of a large network of foreign

correspondents. Walter's interest in developing his own system of international news gathering was also fuelled by the Home Office attempting to intercept his correspondence from abroad (Honenberg 1995:3). Incensed that correspondence to *The Times* was seized by the government and then appeared in a rival journal, Walter systematically built up his foreign news service. Henry Crabb Robinson is credited with being the first foreign correspondent appointed to report events in Europe. It was Crabb Robinson who gave the account of the death of Sir John Moore at Coruna (Barnes 1935:52). He was then sent to Germany as a correspondent but failed to provide regular news. Crabb Robinson was a much better manager than reporter. He urged Walter to send reporters to the major centres of European opinion – Paris, Vienna, Berlin and St Petersburg – to set up a network of foreign correspondents (Hohenberg 1993:5).

Perhaps more important was Barnes's ability to tie the newspaper to the cause of the middle class and reform. He sought to position his newspaper as their voice and against the revolutionary fervour of the working classes and the established power of the aristocracy. He gave the paper a reforming direction, shifting it from its reputation as a conservative, pro-establishment paper, to the surprise of many. Barnes directed the fury of *The Times* against the Peterloo Massacre and in favour of Queen Caroline and Catholic emancipation. It chose confrontation with the authorities, but always after it had ensured it had the support of the middle classes (Barnes 1935:52). To do this, Barnes insisted his correspondents provided information about the readers and public opinion. It was only when he was informed of public opinion that he articulated the newspaper's line in accordance with it. In 1830, the paper gained the nickname 'The Thunderer' when it supported the movement for electoral reform in January 1831 (Ibid), when it published a leader urging public pressure for reform:

Unless the people everywhere come forward and petition, thunder for reform, it is they who abandon an honest minister, it is not the minister who betrays the people (Barnes 1935:52).

Throughout the Reform Bill Crisis, Thomas Barnes pressed for the cause for change in accordance with the majority of his readership and the public. Barnes also advocated the independence of his newspaper's journalism, declaring in the mid-1830s that he would no longer accept prior intelligence from government. This meant he could be editorially free and advocate the 'pride and independence of our journal' (Clarke 2004:227). This was the birth of the concept of the 'fourth estate' which emphasised the press's independence from the state and government, and laid down the justification for critical, enquiring journalism that acted as watchdog on the actions and decision of government. It was Barnes's successor, John Delane who realised this working practice. Delane, in a number of editorials in the mid-nineteenth century defined the concept of the 'fourth estate' in relation to a real set of circumstances that he and his newspaper found themselves in. During the Crimean War he justified critical accounts of the British army, stating that the responsibility of the press was:

... to perform its duties with entire independence, and consequently with utmost public advantage, the Press can enter into no close or binding alliances with the statesmen of the day, no-one can surrender its permanent interests to the convenience of the ephemeral power of and government. The first duty of the Press is to obtain the earliest and most correct intelligence of the events of the time, and instantly by disclosing them to make them the common property of the nation (*The Times*, February 6, 1852 quoted in Steed, 1938:75-6).

The emphasis on the independence of the newspaper removed the political shackles which had inhibited circulation. People were encouraged to see *The Times* as a newspaper that cut across political affiliation, appealing to the community in a broader sense. This made sense in commercial and business terms. Advertising revenue enabled the paper to ensure its independence from government and political subsidies. Broad political appeal enabled it to maximise its sales. By 1851 the newspaper sold three times as many copies as the rest of the London daily press put together (Conboy 2004:11-6). It was also one of the few London newspapers with a strong readership and circulation in the regions. This degree of dominance led it to

claim that it spoke for the entire nation. As one commentator in the late nineteenth century put it: 'If the great heart of England wants to know how it beats, it must consult the Times' (Escott 1875 quoted in Conboy 2004:119). The success of *The Times* was due to its appeal to the emerging middle classes and its ability to represent the English nation.

### **2.3. Unrivalled reputation**

By far the most successful newspaper for most of the nineteenth century was *The Times* (Clarke 2004:225).

*The Times* won its reputation as the 'Thunderer' for its support for the 1832 Reform Act, urging peoples everywhere to come forward to petition to have the vote. Speaking for Britain, however, did not mean giving voice to the working people of Britain. Barnes was a great liberal and one of England's most powerful man, responsible for many reforms, and developed *The Times* into a strong independent paper, a leader in influence and circulation. He perfected an approach that served the paper well for most of the nineteenth century. It identified the newspaper with the nation at a time of economic expansion. Circulation rapidly increased. In 1815, the circulation was 500, six years later it had doubled (Merrill & Fisher 1980:326). By 1851 it reached 40,000 and in 1861 it stood at 70,000 (Boston 1990:87).

Service to the nation and speaking for the nation helped the newspaper in forging close connections with government, with the 'right' people who ran the country. By the time Delane took over as editor in 1841, *The Times* had become the semi-official spokesman for the government itself, irrespective of what party was in power. Under Delane the paper improved its position, and it was said that there was no secret safe from its hardworking reporters. Delane extended the newspaper's influence abroad. By mid-century, *The Times* was the largest and most influential daily in the world. Examples of the newspaper's influence abounded: in 1856 the British Government learned of the Russian acceptance of the peace proposals ending the Crimean War by reading *The Times* (Harris 1996: 100). The newspaper, through the reporting of its man in the Crimea (the first war correspondent William Howard Russell), brought down the government over its handling of the war. By this time the



paper was accused of monopolising the newspaper scene and Fleet Street (Boston 1990:86). One critic spoke of the 'extraordinary and dangerous pre-eminence' (Ibid) of the newspaper. This pre-eminence was based on its close identification with government, its ability to speak for England, its growing circulation and its extensive newsgathering operation.

#### **2.4. *The Times and Foreign News***

Crabb Robinson did not remain at the paper very long. He soon left *The Times*, but the system he established for gathering international news was to develop and thrive. Walter and Barnes both realised the importance of being first with the news, hiring at first a team of special couriers, and even using smugglers to carry the news ashore. However, it was the great foreign reporters of *The Times* that ensured the paper's reputation for international news - men such as Thomas Cherney, William Howard Russell and Henri Stefan Oppenheimer de Blowitz. De Blowitz had been appointed *The Times* correspondent in Paris in 1874 and gained the reputation for scoops and exclusives. One of his triumphs was an exclusive interview with the German Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, while he attended the Congress of Berlin in 1878. This enabled him to obtain his most significant scoop. He procured a copy of the treaty before the Congress ended, publishing it in his paper and enhancing the reputation of *The Times* for being first with the news (Griffiths 2006:122). On at least one occasion the Foreign Office had to ask *The Times* for the latest news from the continent, official sources being so slow. *The Times* rivals struggled to compete with such coverage.

*The Times* became a newspaper of record under Barnes and Delane, which reflected the way in which most respectable newspaper tried to function in this period. Only *The Times* managed to undertake this task successfully. It put great stress on their ability to cover the general course of politics, whether Parliamentary reports at home or diplomatic activities abroad. Its reporting of foreign news, the extent and quality and in particular its coverage of the general state of British overseas interests wherever and whatever that might be could not be found in other

London dailies during this period. The *Daily Telegraph*, which was founded as an inexpensive penny daily in 1885, sought to become a successful rival to *The Times*, but never managed to acquire the connections and contacts with the inner circles of power in the United Kingdom. This was primarily due to the extent and quality of *The Times* newsgathering operation.

*The Times* devoted more copy to the news than its rivals. Reports, debates, speeches, proceedings and inquests were the primary material of the paper. Eight pages, each consisting of six columns of closely typeset copy, were divided into three pages of advertisements and five pages of news, correspondence, features and comment. Parliamentary debates, select committee hearings, government department's annual reports, coroners' inquests, court reports and financial intelligence from the city were familiar fare. Accounts from overseas in the form of correspondence from *The Times* men situated around the world sat alongside reports from country papers around Britain and letters from readers. The latter were distributed around the paper, fitted in where space was available. Most papers of the early Victorian period, apart from the front page advertisements and leading articles, would not have regular slots for certain kinds of items. *The Times* was outstanding in its early layout and regular features for its readers (Williams 2010:84-85).

According to Michael Palmer (1977:205), the superb coverage of international news contributed to the ascendancy of *The Times* over other London dailies in the mid-nineteenth century. The advent of the telegraph and cable encouraged the expansion of the paper's news gathering operation, with correspondents 'following the cable' (Ibid). The expansion of international cable companies based in London was, however, to have major consequences for international news gathering. It led to the development of the international news agencies (INAs), such as Reuter's, Havas and Wolff which specialised in gathering news from far flung parts of the world. The agencies were able to supply other London dailies, and this enabled them to compete with *The Times* in the gathering of international news. The newspaper found this development irksome, as it struggled to finance its extensive newsgathering operation. For many years it resisted the

overtures of the agencies to supply its foreign news (Read 1992:19-23). Finally, in the face of rising costs, the newspaper signed up to the Reuter's service in 1885 to supply its foreign news (Read 1992: 192; Palmer 1977:207). The agencies were seen initially as providing a complementary service, but by 1870 they had become indispensable: agency men operated from a greater number of news centres, and made greater use of the telegraph than did the foreign correspondents of *The Times* (Ibid).

Delane and the senior managers at *The Times* understood that the telegraph and the agencies were having an impact on the way in which news was being superseded by a stylistic change. Shorter sentences, hard news and narrative prose replaced the personal dispatch. Delane was pessimistic about the future of the foreign correspondent. As a result of the telegraph, he believed, there was no longer any need to maintain permanent correspondents abroad: 'Their day has passed' (Delane quoted in Palmer 1977:208). Nonetheless, such a demise did not occur, as correspondents changed their style to reflect a differentiation between hard news and political comment and analysis. They became 'more reflective than narrative, with a wider scope and greater breathe of views' (Palmer 1977:208). *The Times* correspondent now had a greater duty than simply filing the earliest information of an event, according to Moberley Bell, the paper's business manager, he 'had to comment on the news rather than [merely] give it' (Bell quoted in Palmer 1977:209). News and views became part of the remit of *The Times* man or woman based abroad, possibly enhancing their capacity for defining the meaning of international events. Thus *The Times*, through its correspondents overseas, held considerable influence over foreign news gathering for most of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; this was particularly true for imperial news. Its pre-eminence in relation to India is illustrated by the fact that the contemporary press simply fed from its (*The Times*) table, freely copying and pirating news in order to present events in India to their readers (Ibid).

## 2.5. *The Times and Empire*

There has been limited study of the role of the press in the expansion of the British Empire, still less of individual newspapers and their coverage of events in the colonies. Much of what has been written draws attention to the technological changes of the mid-nineteenth century, in particular the cable and telegraph, and how these enabled the European powers to extend their reach around the world (see Headrick 1981). The rapidity with which cabled information had become integral to colonial administration is emphasised (quoted in Kaul 2006:6). However, the British press and newspapers such as *The Times* in the mid to latter part of the nineteenth century are associated with the rise of the British Empire and the extension of the cable service. The press, like other parts of the mass media and popular culture in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, was infused with the 'dominant ideology of British society': empire.

John Mackenzie (1984) documents how popular culture was used to promote imperial values: films, literature, documentaries, newsreels, cigarette cards, school textbooks, children's books, theatre, music hall, art, radio and a variety of popular cultural and mass media artefacts were, in Mackenzie's words, 'vehicles of imperial propaganda'. Commenting on this period, Mackenzie states that the 'empire was all around us, celebrated on our biscuit tins, chronicled on our cigarette cards, part of the fabric of our lives' (Mackenzie 1984: 24). Mackenzie shows how military adventure, expansionist Christian culture and economic benefits were 'glorified'. According to Mackenzie, the propaganda effort was organised and systematic, citing bodies such as the Empire Marketing Board and the Royal Colonial Institute as examples of the concerted attempt to promote imperial values. Part of this propaganda effort was 'the manufacture of cultural images and racial stereotypes (Ibid: 254). Stories of military heroism, missionary courage, great voyages of exploration and civilising consequences dominate the propaganda for empire. The over-riding theme is the benefit that imperialism brought to the world. Taking the example of school textbooks, right up until the 1960s, this is emphasised in the British educational system. In a geography text book from 1956 in a section on Africa this could be read:

Today, under the guidance of Europeans, Africa is being steadily opened up ... the significant fact remains that the Europeans have brought civilisation to the peoples of tropical Africa whose standard of living has in most cases been raised as a result of their contact with white peoples (quoted in Mackenzie 1984:193).

Imperial propaganda stretches long into contemporary British history and there is no reason to doubt that the press was part of this. The jingoism, chauvinism, nationalism and imperialism of the popular press are regularly referred to. The slogan of the *Daily Express* was 'for the King and Empire'. But it was not only right-of-centre papers such as the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* that were associated with imperial values (Mackenzie 1984: 6-7). Radical newspapers such as *Reynolds News* were 'swept up' by the imperial venture. The language and values of imperialism, militarism and patriotism are seen as pervading most of the British press. However, without systematic study it is not possible to be sure as to the exact nature of the reporting.

*The Times* as a right-of-centre, establishment newspaper is assumed to have embraced imperial values. However, the paper's owner during the inter-war years, John Jacob Astor, served as a chairman of the Empire Press Union (see Kaul 2006). Editors in this period are described as in the 'idealistic imperial camps'. Their links with Empire are exemplified by Geoffrey Dawson, who edited the paper in the 1930s. Dawson was steeped in the practical problems of Empire, following several years in the Colonial Office and serving as special correspondent in South Africa (Seymour Ure 1978:72).

## **2.6. *The Times in decline***

The Crimean War was the high point of *The Times*' power. The abolition of the stamp duty was partly an act of revenge against *The Times*, and this led to the emergence of real competition in the shape of the new penny London newspapers and the regional dailies. It was in the country where *The Times* had had the bulk of its sales, but northern readers began to switch to papers like the *Manchester Guardian* and *Yorkshire Post*. Its expensive network of foreign correspondents

prevented it from competing with the other dailies on price, and its special advantages in reporting foreign news were undermined by any newspaper prepared to pay the telegraph charges.

Catastrophe struck *The Times* in 1887 when it printed a forged letter purported to have been written by Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish Nationalist leader in the Commons, condoning the Phoenix Park Murders of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and his undersecretary, Thomas Burke.<sup>8</sup> *The Times* was completely discredited by the Parnell forgeries. Not only had *The Times* lost its reputation, but it also had to pay legal fees. For the first time since the beginning of the nineteenth century *The Times* recorded a deficit. It was no longer the progressive paper of Barnes or the authoritative paper of Delane. Hampered by a high cover price, and no longer at the forefront of printing technology, it lumbered on into the twentieth century, shedding circulation to 32,000 by 1904 until it suffered the final humiliation of having to be taken over by Lord Northcliffe, the proprietor of the halfpenny *Daily Mail*, in order to survive (Clarke 2004:230; Merrill & Fisher 1980:322).

The history of *The Times* in the twentieth century is one of declining circulation, takeovers and financial crises. In 1922 the American John Astor bought the newspaper from the Northcliffe estate, following the magnate's death. In 1967, the Astors sold the paper to Canadian publishing magnate Roy Thomson, who had the newspaper for nearly a year in 1978-79, but struggled with the business. Thomson sold the paper to the Australian magnate Rupert Murdoch (Griffiths 2006:357). These changes were associated with a declining circulation, although throughout this period the newspaper maintained a hold over the establishment; it had become the 'parish newspaper of the elite' (Ibid). Close ties with government characterised its operations in the twentieth century. Lord Northcliffe's purchase of

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<sup>8</sup>The Phoenix Park Murders were the fatal stabbings on 6 May 1882 in the Phoenix Park in Dublin of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke. Cavendish was the newly appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Burke was the Permanent Undersecretary, the most senior Irish civil servant. The assassination was carried out by members of the "Irish National Invincibles [From free wikipedia accessed December 17, 2011].

the paper had much to do with his attempts to become accepted amongst the British establishment. During the WWI he became a member of the government and in the wake of the war had close working relations with successive prime ministers. It was in this period, the latter days of the Edwardian era and the inter-war years that the newspaper became more clearly associated with imperial ventures and even jingoism. A genteel version came to pervade *The Times*. But it was as a confidant of the British government and the voice of Britain's upper and upper-middle classes that the newspaper had operated prior to the Second World War. The paper was known as the voice of the British government in foreign capitals and its editor was described as 'one of the four most powerful figures in British public life, along with the King, prime minister and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Inglis 1990:116). This relationship was to damage the newspaper's reputation during the appeasement crisis.

The close connections with government in the 1930s led *The Times* to become an unquestioning spokesman for government foreign policy, which led to an undermining of public confidence in the paper during the period of appeasement. The involvement of *The Times* in appeasement is nonetheless a matter of dispute. The paper's motives for supporting rapprochement with Germany are subject to controversy: the anti-war feeling generated by the losses of the First World War, and the conviction that granting concessions to Nazi Germany would help stimulate the ailing international economy in the 1930s (Ibid). The paper's editor, Geoffrey Dawson, feared the impact of war on the Empire. What is not in doubt is the extent to which critical comment and reports about Nazi Germany were kept out *The Times*. The attempts by the paper's Berlin correspondent to report stories that ran contrary to editorial policy, while many other papers adopted a similar approach to the rise of Nazi Germany, *The Times* suffered most when the bankruptcy of government policy was highlighted (Ibid).

The post-war years then witnessed the slow weakening of the influence of the paper over the elite classes. *The Times* was seen as a 'stuffy and somewhat lethargic newspaper', carrying classified ads on the front page until 1966 (Tunstall 1996:51). The owners resisted change, particularly when that change included becoming more

entertainment oriented. When Thomson 'rescued' the paper in 1967 it was clear that change was vital; for some it was too late. Under the progressive editorship of William Rees Mogg, *The Times* maintained its distinctive role as a national establishment paper. It moved to more intellectual debate in its foreign correspondence columns. It extended its influence to the opinion-leaders of Western Europe by reporting European as well as British elections, government and law. It became more lively and controversial, a better-balanced journal. The new policy helped to maintain some hold over the elite classes: One-third of the influential people of Britain and Europe whose names appear in the international Who's Who said they read *The Times* regularly, while another third read it 'from time to time' (Brown 1986:211; Merrill & 1980:322). However, such changes did not return the paper to profitability. Thomson muddled along, ignoring the parlous commercial state of the paper. But the era of the elite, specialist newspaper which acted as a cultural and political leader was nearly over. More space increasingly came to be devoted to lifestyle journalism in the British press to attract new readers and advertisers. Foreign news and political news began to shrink which undermined *The Times* and its influence. Until the 1950s the newspaper had employed the most foreign correspondents in Fleet Street, which emphasised its role as Britain's leading prestige newspaper (Tunstall 1996:340). The amount of space given over to foreign news and the number of foreign correspondents started to shrink. Certain parts of the world began to disappear in terms of coverage, as the staff correspondents based there disappeared. Africa and other parts of the Third World suffered most. As *The Times'* role as a newspaper of record was undermined by this retrenchment, the financial plight of the paper became critical and another takeover occurred.

## **2.7. Rupert Murdoch and *The Times***

The acquisition of *The Times* and *The Sunday Times* by Australian magnate Rupert Murdoch in 1981 was controversial (Thussu 2007:64; Williams 2010:208). Murdoch appointed Harold Evans as the new editor, but he soon resigned - citing an overly interventionist owner as the reason for his departure. In 1986 the Wapping dispute, over the introduction of new print technology, led to a serious revolution in Fleet



Street. Production of *The Times* moved from Gray's Inn Road, just North of Fleet Street, to new offices in Wapping. In November 2004 the paper became a tabloid paper and more populist and sensational in its approach to news. Murdoch's changes resulted in increased circulation (see McChesney & Schiller 2003:76).

Murdoch's method to increase circulation was to cut the cover price of the newspaper. The decision to cut the price of *The Times* was calculated to take readers from other quality broadsheet newspapers, especially the market leader, the *Daily Telegraph*. The initial cut from 45 to 30 pence doubled the sales of *The Times*; another drop to 20 pence resulted in sales rising to 880,000 per day (Williams, 2010, 210). Sales had increased by nearly half a million within a relatively short period. The *Telegraph* at first did not follow suit; assuming that Murdoch could not operate at a substantial loss for very long and readers who switched would return given the quality of their product. When the *Telegraph*'s sales fell below one million in 1994 it cut its price. The price war lasted until 2005, costing Murdoch's News International £175 million but the circulation of *The Times* had almost doubled and *The Times* became profitable (Ibid).

Driven by the price war, quality broadsheet newspapers such as *The Times* became more tabloid in their presentation and output. The newspaper became a tabloid paper in format in 2005 and many argue that its content increasingly contained stories that would not have previously seen the light of day in the quality paper. For one commentator Murdoch gave up maintaining the newspaper as one of the world's greatest newspapers, turning it into a 'shrill, hatchet wielding, scandal sheet' (quoted in Temple 2008:178). This might be overstated, but the newspaper is certainly seen as having 'dumbed down' of which one aspect was the decline in international news. The notion of 'dumbing down' is disputed (McNair: 2006) and whether it has undermined *The Times* reputation as a 'newspaper of record' is open to question. It is also the case that the newspaper retains strong loyalty among elite readers in British society, even though competition from other qualities, the broadcast media and new media has loosened this relationship.

## 2.8. *Changes in reporting*

The changing fortunes of the newspaper have had implications for the ways in which it has covered events, in this case what was happening in the Congo. The increasing reach and reputation of the newspaper in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century resulted in the establishment of a close relationship between the newspaper and politics and the political elite. The newspaper played a crucial role in championing the cause of political reform as well as the campaign for the right of the press to report Parliament. Under Delane and Barnes the paper became a confidant of government; its relations with politicians and Cabinet ministers firmly cemented under the editorship of Delane. Politicians and ministers were happy to provide Delane with information to advance their own personal interests and causes or to gain his goodwill (Clarke 2004:230). *The Times* became 'essential reading on political matters' (Ibid) and its views and opinions were highly considered by those in power. It was seen as politically independent from party politics, having good relations with politicians from a variety of parties and factions. Hence the crucial role it played in furthering the concept of 'the fourth estate'. Its political authority was enhanced by the quality of its editorial comment under leader writers such as Henry Reeve, who went on to become Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The political reputation of the newspaper for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, even when circulation began to decline after 1870s, meant that news of domestic and international politics dominated its columns. News about foreign affairs came to single the newspaper out, fuelled by a network of celebrated international correspondents that worked for the newspaper in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The political influence of the newspaper reached its zenith in the middle of the century when in 1850s Russell's reporting of the Crimean War is said to have brought down the government of the day (see Knightley 2003). This reporting was characterised by its independent and critical voice, its close connections with government and its championing of the causes of the middle classes. *The Times*

spoke for class and country. At home the broad parameters of its commentaries and opinions were set down by its allegiances to reform which spread the influence of the middle classes. Abroad it spoke for Britain; the national interest, as defined by the government of the day and exercised the foreign news staff. This did not mean it always slavishly reproduced what the government said, or accepted official interpretations of events and supporting uncritically government policy. The newspaper formed its own policy, and correspondents were not told they had to expound the official line, as one editorial indicated in 1912:

The policy of the paper ...is expounded in its leading articles and not in the reporting of its correspondents, which deal with matters of fact. A correspondent's value to the newspaper lies in telling the truth as he knows it ... (quoted in Kaul, 2003:63).

However, the Empire was a subject that preoccupied the editors of the quality press, not least impressed by the sales value of imperial adventures. Much of the reporting of the Congo at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has to be seen in this context. The instinctive support for imperialism, the focus on government policy on the international stage, particularly in relation to the imperial competition with other western powers, the newspaper's reputation for international news coverage and in particular its ability to be first with the news about political developments abroad and its authority with its readers would appear to be crucial factors in shaping its reporting of the Free State.

The progressive decline of the paper's supremacy in the British newspaper market culminated in the newspaper's purchase by Northcliffe in 1908 – it was bought out on no less than three other occasions – 1922 (Astor), 1966 (Thomson) and 1981 (Murdoch) (Tunstall, 1996, 96). Subsidy and costs seem to play a crucial role in shaping the newspaper's coverage in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Maintaining its own foreign newsgathering resources was expensive but something valued by management. The services of Reuters were rejected by the paper when most of its major competitors signed up to the international news agency. However, in the face of dwindling sales

and profits the paper finally relented in 1892. Growing dependency on the agencies characterised the development of the newspaper's foreign news coverage. Their reporting of Africa and the Congo was shaped by the increasing role of agencies and the need to manage costs. Competition also became more acute which saw the role of the correspondent change – commentary on events was as important as the regular and reliable supply of breaking news. Under Northcliffe the newspaper became part of a chain of newspapers which thrived on imperialism and jingoism. Northcliffe, speaking of his flagship newspaper the *Daily Mail*, stated that the paper stood for 'the power, the supremacy and the greatness of the British empire' and talked of the *Mail* as the 'embodiment and mouthpiece of the imperial idea' (quoted in Kaul, 2003, 73). Less critical and more supportive coverage of imperialism would be expected. Northcliffe's emphasis on the entertainment aspect of the press would also be seen to lead to more populist coverage of events overseas and in the colonies.

By the time of the Congo's independence *The Times*, like many newspapers, was just emerging from an era of rationing following the end of the war. Newspapers were closing and circulations of the quality press shrinking. Until the 1950s *The Times* had the greatest number of foreign correspondents (Tunstall, 1996, 340). This changed in the 1960s when the *Daily Telegraph* foreign news staff overtook that of *The Times*. However, 1960 still saw specialist Africa correspondents in Fleet Street – and documenting the end of empire on the continent was a 'big story' for the British press. However, costs were rising, newspapers were closing and staff numbers dwindling as the British press struggled to adapt to the new economic realities of the post-war world. By 2006 this struggle was harder. Growing competition had led to the retrenchment of foreign news staff across the press in the UK. Specialist Africa correspondents had all but disappeared and the foreign news staff based in Africa had shrunk considerably. Foreign news was less important following the circulation wars initiated by Murdoch. A reduction in the amount and nature of news from Africa was apparent.

## *Summary*

This chapter outlined the history of *The Times* as a newspaper, from its early beginnings by John Walter, to its expansion to become not only the most successful newspaper in the world but also the British newspaper of record and then to a clear decline in the twentieth century. The success of the newspaper during the rise of Britain's imperial expansion and its disproportionate influence over British politics, even after its decline, are the reasons why it was selected for examination of the changing representations of the D.R. Congo rather than any other European newspaper.

The chapter highlighted the influence of *The Times* as a newspaper under Barnes and Delane, reflecting the ways in which it shaped the nature, form and content of other respectable newspapers in this period. Its decline in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is described including the subsequent changes under owners such as Aster and Thomson and its revival as a result of its controversial acquisition by the Australian Murdoch who made *The Times* more profitable again. This chapter showed how *The Times* pioneered the reporting of foreign news with Crabb Robinson, who is credited with establishing a system of regular cable correspondents overseas that could provide news as it broke in other parts of the world. This system was the envy of the paper's competitors in the nineteenth century and gave the paper a reputation worldwide. In its heyday, *The Times* published daily reports from all the great capitals of the world. Much of this expansion coincided with the growth of the British Empire and the newspaper played a central role in reporting imperial news. Like many other parts of the media, it propagated the core ideology of Victorian and Edwardian Britain, the Empire. Apparently as a result certain kinds of representation and stereotypes prevailed in the newspaper's portrayal of other parts of the world including Africa, and these can be argued to have coincided with the needs of the imperial venture. The newspaper's attitude to empire changed, from a wavering one to a fully committed engagement with the process. In the twentieth century, the newspaper's decline corresponded with the setting of the sun on the British Empire. Less important to the establishment of Britain, the newspaper provided less and less

foreign news, moving from serious to sensational. Under Murdoch the paper has become more profitable, but less associated with Britain and the British ruling class. *The Times* as a newspaper has generally played a major role in the way Britain and the rest of the West has understood Africa and its problems from the last century to the present time. Its disproportionate influence amongst policy makers and the elite in Britain ensures that it has played a major role in setting the news agenda for Africa and shaping public and elite understanding of the continent's problems, issues and troubles.

## **Chapter Three: Representation, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Western News Media**

### ***Introduction***

The focus for this study is the representation of the Congo in the British media, but comparisons with other African societies are pertinent, which is why this chapter looks at literature from European, American and African academics and authors who have examined the coverage of the continent. Most have claimed and complained that Africa is negatively represented in the Western news media. Those who pioneered the study of images and representations of Africa are included in the discussion, particularly Jan Nederveen Pieterse, whose historical approach to the study of these images and representations is most applicable to this thesis. The main task of this chapter is to identify the basic components of the representations of Africa in the media. It locates these forms of representation within a historical context which emphasises the 'Eurocentric representation' of Africa which has been reflected in the imagery and iconography of the continent in European culture since the Middle Ages. These images have been at the heart of the misunderstanding of Africa in western societies and represent a deep-seated cultural reaction to the difference of sub-Saharan Africa and Africans, who are seen as 'the other'. The secondary task of the chapter is to identify how the images have been reproduced in the news media and the influence of the news media on public perceptions. To do this the nature of news values and the ability of the media to set the agenda for public discussion of international events will be examined. This will help to gauge the possible changes over time, as well as the potential explanations to account for the nature of the representations. Before looking at the representations of Africa in the news media it is important to draw attention to the nature of representation and stereotyping.

### ***3.1. Stereotypes and Representation***

Much of the common-sense and scholarly discussion of how the world is represented in public and media discourse at some stage touches on the concept of the stereotype. Given its prevalence in the discussion of representation, it is a surprise that there is

little (limited) scholarly literature investigating understandings of the ways in which the media reports and represents the world. Like another concept, 'bias', the stereotype is a simple concept which, on further examination, becomes more vague and indescribable as a means to understand the output of the media. The modern concept of stereotyping is associated with Walter Lippmann (1922), who is credited with introducing the term into the social sciences (Williams 2003:130). He believed that stereotypes are essential to processing the vast amounts of information that are produced in modern society. The individual depends on their own 'mental maps' to make sense of what is going on. These 'pictures in our heads of the world outside' are made up of categories to group things that are similar in order to study them and to communicate about them (Lippmann paraphrased by Williams 2003:129-30). Stereotyping is the process of categorisation, different stereotypes apply to different categories of people, places and behaviour. Lippmann (1965:60) argued that stereotypes 'are not only necessary for an individual to understand their environment but central to our ability to communicate with one another' (Ibid). However, there is a problem as to what is meant by a 'stereotype'. Several scholars have raised questions about the validity and usefulness of the concept in understanding the media, for example Barker (1989) and Perkins (1979).

Whilst stereotypes offer an analysis based on repetition, it tends to ignore differences and reduces them to simple variations on a theme but without working through what those differences might connote ... (Mercer in Ross 1996:1).

Scholars draw attention to the particular assumptions made in the use of the term and ask whether they are acceptable. Perkins (1979) argues that stereotypes are assumed to be false or untrue, always derogatory or negative, directed at a minority or powerless groups and reinforces prejudices against these groups. They are also assumed to be fixed and unchanging. On each account she raised questions. Certain characteristics directed at groups may not be totally untrue – they may be partially true, therefore representing an aspect of that group's behaviour. Stereotypes of women are seen as representing them in the domestic setting, working in the



household, which is in fact what many women do. They are not always negative. They are not always used in relation to the powerless, marginal or disadvantaged groups. According to Perkins there are stereotypes of all groups in society: 'there is a male (he-man) stereotype, a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) stereotype, a heterosexual stereotype, an upper-class leader stereotype' and so on. Perkins' analysis highlights that stereotypes are never simple and straightforward (cited in Williams 2003:130). Barker (1989) goes further, arguing that the concept is flawed and makes for a useless tool of research. He notes that much academic analysis of stereotypes is based on the view that it is 'wrong to present people as 'representatives of categories' (Glover 1984:27). However, social science research is often centred around the notion that, to make sense of the world, some form of categorisation or typification is essential (cited in Williams 2003:130).

Barker (1989) and Perkins (1979) draw attention to the problems of the concept of stereotyping and its use in research. Nonetheless, rather than dismissing the concept, Perkins offers a more complex definition. She defines stereotyping as a group concept, in that it is held by a social group about another social group which results in a simple structure that often hides complexity based on an 'inferior judgement process' that downplays rational assessments. She refers to the process of 'social typing' which is a necessary ingredient of the communication process (cited in Williams 2003:130-1).

This thesis takes into account Perkins's discussion of the concept of stereotyping and the problems involved in using the term. It will look at different kinds of representation, negative and positive, as well as locate them in an historical context to examine whether they are contested or not. However, it also draws attention to the role of society, the state and other institutions in Western society in constructing a particular image of Africa based on a narrow range of stereotypical representations. The political, economic and cultural need to promote particular forms of representation is an important element in the way in which peoples, nations and continents have been portrayed (Barker 1989; Glover 1984; Perkins 1979).

### 3.2. *Historic Representations of Africa*

Contemporary media representations of Africa and developing societies in general are deeply rooted in history. The images of Africa were invented and constructed by Europeans during the previous periods; the eras of Christianity, exploration, religious missions and colonialism. In these periods, the political, economic and cultural needs of Europeans determined the kinds of images constructed. This goes back as far as the Middle Ages, from when how Europe sees itself as at the centre of the world can be traced. The representations of the rest of the world (and Africa) in the imagery and iconography put Europe in the centre and the others at the periphery. This understanding of Africa in Western societies is located in what is referred to as a 'Eurocentric view' (Curtin 1965:244; Smith 1980:68).

Western historical knowledge of Africa was limited until the sixteenth century (Mengara 2001:1-5). Even if the ancient Greeks had heard of Ethiopia as a 'land of blacks', their acquaintance with Africa below Egypt was mostly limited to the mythical accounts to be found in the works of ancient Greek writers such as Homer (e.g.; *The Odyssey*, set down in writing around 750 BC) or Herodotus. The area that the ancient Greeks knew as Ethiopia became more material in later centuries due to the major invasions that brought the Assyrians, Greeks, Persians, and the Romans, among others. A better awareness of Africa beyond its primal Egyptian legacy was not achieved until the Arab penetrations of the seventh and eighth centuries that led to the establishment of more elaborate routes that enabled commercial links based on the slave, gold and ivory trades between sub-Saharan Africa and the outside world along the east coast and across the Sahel corridor. They also brought to the world the first modern accounts of sub-Saharan Africa by eye-witnesses such as Iban Batutta, whose 14<sup>th</sup> century writings and testimonies have been very helpful in reconstructing some aspects of Africa's pre-European history (Hamdum and King in Mengara 2001:4).

It was not, however, until the arrival of the first European explorers in the 15th century that acquaintance with sub-Saharan Africa was given more concrete expression. This is contrary to popular belief, which often holds that not much was

known of the interior of Africa before the great explorations and discoveries of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The consequences of the encounter between Europe and Africa very early on left a legacy: despite the little contact with Africa: the notion of European superiority handed down (McEvedy 1995:80). Europeans believed and saw themselves as the centre of the world.

### ***Eurocentrism***

Europe located itself as the centre of the then known world in the Middle Ages. It constructed this image in secular as well as religious terms; the form of the Roman Empire as well as that of the Roman Church was a crucial determinant of representation. Classicism was the secular identity of Renaissance Europe; its iconography followed an 'imperial matrix, classical in style and imagery, imperial in mentality and perspective' (Pieterse 1992:26). Secular, as opposed to Christian, Europe was concerned with commerce rather than religion, and mercantile relations were depicted in the imagery of the period. Power and control emanated from trade as Europe's mercantile tentacles extended across the world. Motivated by profit and monetary reward, it was the explorers and merchants fear of the unknown world they were entering that came to dominate European representations of the world. Monsters and larger-than-life elements shaped the images of the unknown (Johnston 1911:230).

It was the navigation charts that first emphasised the sea routes and the continent they were linked to, with Europe as the centre and the rest of the world the periphery. As the coasts and peoples gradually appeared on the European horizon, the emerging continents were personified as female and represented as characters upon a stage dominated and defined by Europe (Mudimbe 1988:6-7; Pieterse 1992: 26). In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologie* (1593), the standard encyclopaedia of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, this sign language took further shape (Bubois 2001:11). Europe was represented as a queen with crown and sceptre, flanked by a horse, carrying spices, herbs and fragrant incense, accompanied by a camel, Africa as a dark woman with loose and curly hair, almost naked, who wears a coral necklace in her right hand and cornucopia containing ears of corn in her left. On one side of her is a ferocious lion

and on the other are vipers and other venomous serpents. The cornucopia is a reference to the time of Hadrian, when Carthage was one of Rome's bread baskets, the scorpion and lion refer to classical sources as well (Pieterse 1992:27).

In the seventeenth century the Dutch Republic was Europe's leading power and foremost trading nation. The central figure in the world image developed in the republic is the City Maiden of Amsterdam. On the high reliefs of the Royal Palace in Amsterdam the Dutch metropolis represents itself as the city to which continents turn. In each front piece the central figure is the City Maiden, with regal or imperial attributes. She is the rich queen of the sea to whom the four quarters of the globe, enchanted by her fame, come to dedicate their tributes to the city of Amsterdam. The allegories follow Cesare Ripa<sup>9</sup> on most points. Thus, on this central monument of the Dutch Golden Age are reproduced in numerous descriptions of the city of Amsterdam. She is Europe's capital and draws the four quarters of the universe to dedicate their treasures to Amsterdam (Pieterse 1992:29).

By the eighteenth century England and London had superseded Amsterdam and the Netherlands as Europe's major mercantile power. On the front piece of a book probably dating from the late eighteenth century, each continent is associated with an animal: a horse, elephant, camel and a beaver. An active American woman is holding tobacco leaves, an Arab woman is flanked by a fragrant vat of incense, and the African woman, a palm tree by her side, holds ivory and a slave chain. The caption mentions "Europe by commerce, art, and arms obtains. The Gold of Africa and her sons enchain". Eurocentrism thus dominated imagery of the known world in medieval and early modern Europe. Whether Dutch or English, Europeans were at the heart of the world, while the continents of Africa, Asia and the Americas were on the margins. The iconography of Eurocentrism from the outset followed an imperial framework. Accordingly, the imagery of empire in Europe preceded the reality of empire by a few hundred years (Mphahlele 1962: 111).

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<sup>9</sup> Cesare Ripa (C.1560-C.1922) was an Italian aesthetician who worked for Cardinal Anton Maria Salviati as a cook and butler. He was highly influential emblem book based on Egyptian, Greek and Roman substance emblematic representations. He was knighted after his highly successful book called *Iconologia* which he wrote in his free time, was published [accessed from Wikipedia December 20<sup>th</sup>, 2011].

The hierarchical sense and tone of this iconography remained basically unaltered into the twentieth century, when European monuments commemorating empire and colonialism continued to display a similar view of world relations. The hierarchical character of this iconography is transmitted by means of a pictorial architecture of power, both blatant and subtle in contrasts of high and low, centre and margin, foreground and background, in the language of dominion and submission, in addition to the symbolic repertoires specific to particular settings (Pieterse 1992: 29). This representation white on black constitutes a stereotypical set of iconographic codes which recur in the depiction of slavery, mission, colonialism, and even in contemporary advertising. These displays of civilisation and representation of Europe as the world's centre are the beginnings of the construction of images of Africa and black people. The myths of Africa and other continents correlate with a myth of Europe itself and Eurocentrism is closely associated with racial connotations (Ibid).

Contact between Europe and Africa culminated in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The process of categorising and labelling at this time eventually led to what the Congolese scholar Mudimbe (1988:1) calls 'the invention of Africa'. The systematic manufacturing of a continent on the basis of the paradigm of superiority versus inferiority, civilised versus uncivilised, among other epithets can be distinguished in the nineteenth century. It is also around this time that concepts of colour as distinctive determinants of racial categorisation and classification found their most clear expression within the Western establishment. For the colonial process to appeal to the European mind, it has to be justified. Such a justification could be validated only if the subjugated lands and the peoples who inhabited them were expropriated of their own identities and constructed in the western mind as objects of devastation, ignorance and primitivism that needed to be rescued or saved by the West (Pieterse 1992:29). This process of expropriation could be seen as one by which Africa's identities, as defined by indigenous Africans themselves, were progressively replaced with a single monolithic African identity as specifically reformulated by the European empire (Mudimbe 1988:1). Thus, territories that were once defined by the

identities of individual ethnicities that inhabited them were now reshaped into artificial nations with one national identity.

### *European Exploration*

Europe used a variety of means to conquer other continents and spread Christianity and Colonialism. The initial incursion into Africa came through the process of exploration. Contacts between Europe and Africa have a long history, but the systematic exploration of the African continent began in 1795 with the Niger expedition of Mungo Park – roughly at the same time that missionary work began in Africa. Most of the journeys were organised by the Royal Geographical Society, particularly those in search of the source of the Nile. The travails of David Livingstone and of the journalist Henry Morton Stanley, in search of the missing Livingstone, met with enormous interest in the newspapers and illustrated magazines of the day. The danger and promise of such trips strongly appealed to the popular imagination (Wesseling 1996:70).

The journeys of exploration are recorded, in recent literature as well that of the past, as pushing back of the frontiers of ignorance. This is an Eurocentric view, promoting as it did a large number of myths about European intervention into Africa and about Africans themselves. The myth of the “Dark Continent” is associated with the nineteenth century explorers, who are portrayed as exonerating the West from the responsibility for the slave trade. The trade was redefined as a manifestation of African primitivism and part of a pernicious Arab influence on the continent. Explorers are often credited with drawing attention to the horrific nature of the slave trade, and helping to galvanise opposition to the trade in Europe. Ironically the fight against slavery was often the rationale for European intervention. The myth of the ‘Dark Continent’ came into being only in the nineteenth century as an appropriate justification for systematic European exploration (Johnston 1911:200).

The journeys of exploration were a significant source of myth formation about Africa. The psychological insecurities of venturing into an unknown world shaped the images of the peoples of Africa. Anthony Smith (1980:19-28) locates the

antecedents of western images of Asia, Africa and America in the world of exploration. The early explorers were motivated by profit, plunder and privilege and to justify their ruthless conquest of the peoples of Asia, Africa and the Americas they portrayed them as savage, backward and threatening. They completely ignored the fact that the Africa had for centuries been criss-crossed by trade routes. Long-distance trade is so deeply rooted in and of great importance to the political economy of the continent. It is not just that the explorers asked the way, but on the return home they celebrated their voyages as fantastic triumphs of European knowledge and daring, with Africans as dumb-founded bystanders. This conveniently ignores that the success of the journeys was in large part due to African help, not only as porters (as the iconography mostly suggests), but as guides, intermediaries, interpreters, and so forth (Pieterse 1992:72, Ramamurthy 2003:63). The explorers promoted their racial and patriotic superiority, hardly paying any attention to Africa itself and the people who lived there. There 'is nothing interesting in a heathen town', according to Livingstone in 1867, who was convinced that the hopes of the world for liberty and progress depended on the Anglo-American race. In his instructions to an assistant on the Zambezi expedition he explained: 'We are adherents of a benign holy religion and may by consistent conduct and wise patient efforts become the harbingers of peace to a hitherto distracted and trodden-down race' (quoted in Pieterse 1992:74). Livingstone spoke of the low Negro character and physiognomy (about the Kgatla in 1844). Here the images of the savage and the heathen merged in a Christian vision of 'fallen creatures', the terminology of degeneration expressed the same nuance in a scientific, biological discourse (Curtin 1965:35).

The scramble for Africa was couched in intense national rivalries between Europeans that were implicit in the process of exploration. David Livingstone believed that his most important achievement was that he was the first European to penetrate into Southern Central Africa. He dismissed the activities of Portuguese traders, Rodriguez Graca and Silva Porto, who had anticipated his trip by several years, describing them as half-castes. British explorers laid the basis for the later British aspiration to paint the map of Africa red. The names they gave to African waters made them into tributaries of British royalty such as John Speke naming the

then source of the Nile as the Victoria Falls after his queen. The explorers dedicated their books to the royal family. From the moment it came into Europe's view the interior of Africa was turned into a conduit for the aspirations and tensions of European rivalries (Johnston 1911:100).

### *Christianity*

The predominant Christian representation of the world in Medieval Europe was the orbisculum or earth sphere which was divided into three parts. This division was often equated with the three sons of Noah: Sem, corresponding to Asia, Japheth corresponding to Europe and Ham to Africa (Pieterse 1992: 24).

The black race is certainly the race of Ham, the race cursed of God. One can smell it, see it everywhere, and one cannot help feeling both compassion and terror when one sees these poor unfortunates ... They are lazy, greedy, thieves, liars and given over to all kinds of vice. The scanty clothes which these unfortunates wear make them even more savage and worthy of pity! (quoted in Slade 1962:31).

The association of sub-Saharan Africans with descendants of Ham had a wide distribution in Europe from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries onwards. The association in some circles is a convenient means to justify slavery and colonial exploitation. In the Old Testament Ham was one of the three sons of Noah who was cursed because he mocked his father. Shem and Noah were blessed because they honoured their father while Ham was meant to be the servant of servants. From this biblical interpretation Ham and his descendants belonged to the lowest category of human nature. Slavery was provided with a religious justification as God wanted blacks (the descendants of Ham) to serve whites, who are descendants of Japheth and Sem. These images of blacks were mostly found in the Christian doctrine in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Pieterse 1992:44; see also Mengara 2001).

From Christianity and subsequent Western thought there is an emergence of racial thinking. The colour 'black' has come to represent things bad or negative. It was associated with darkness, evil, hell, demons, etc. and it is interesting to note how



the advent of enlightenment in the seventeen and eighteenth centuries continued to use this symbolism. The metaphor of light is marked also reflected in the enlightenment thinking, this time not in religious sense, but as light of reason. The enlightened thinker used the 'significantly loaded image of light' in their praise of rationality, and this became the European tradition of associating white with good and black with evil (Slade 1962:32; see also Pieterse 1992:44).

In the representation of Africa and other parts of the non-western world, black has often been couched in the language of race and the language of colour. Pieterse (1992:44) notes there have been concerns about the presence of the peoples from these parts of the world living in the host societies for a long time. As early as 1788 he finds reference to the 'incredible number of these Africans in every country town, including in almost every village' in Britain (Ibid). European society was often defined as 'white' and the rest of the world is massed together, Asian, African and Native American, brown, black and yellow in more tabloid terms, as 'black'. Thus, in discussing images of Africa, they are steeped in racial stereotyping of black people. This is manifest in the different stages of the interaction of Europe with the rest of the world, starting with the process of exploration. In medieval maps, Jerusalem was often depicted as the centre of the world, representing the centrality of Christianity in that period, but gradually secular Europe came to occupy the central place as the Reformation destroyed the unity of Christianity.

### ***European Missionaries***

While the explorers' worldview was the land and its geography, the competition to be first to enter undiscovered territory, the missionary perspective of spreading Christianity also drove their endeavours. Exploration and missionary work often went hand-in-hand and together produced myths, not only about the areas in which they operated but above all about themselves. In the literature of exploration Africans are mentioned mainly as part of the landscape, or as obstacles to exploration. Time and again there is mention of difficulties in obtaining porters, of chiefs demanding a high toll for the travellers' passage and of local wars and skirmishes causing delays for the travellers. The emphasis is on landscape and nature, of which we are given

extensive and fervent descriptions. The course of the rivers, the expanse of the lakes, or the imposing height of the mountains is what this literature is about, while Africans tend to be mentioned in passing either as obstacles or as hospitable and helpful. The geographical knowledge gathered by the explorers, for instance about the course and navigability of rivers, is strategically and commercially important, and the network of long-distance trade routes, the existence of which is denied on the one hand (in the very imagery of darkest Africa), but is yet being carefully studied on the other (Pieterse 1992:75; Slade 1962:30).

Christianity was nevertheless a driving force behind the conquest of African and shaping the images of Africans in western societies. The importance of religion was highlighted by the Mau Mau in Kenya, who said they ‘owned the land and the missionaries had the Gospel’ (Pieterse 1992:32). Then, they said missionaries came and taught Africans to pray and close their eyes, and in the meantime the Europeans seized the African lands. Explorers had to act with tact, but missionaries were less tolerant, certain in their religious conviction that Africans had to be saved. Perhaps predictably, there were close ties between the Church and the colonial state, even before formal colonial structures were established in Africa. In the home country family connections existed between the officer corps and the Church. In England the churches were decorated with regimental flags (Pieterse 1992:32). The missionaries were often passionate advocates of an expansionist policy. For the Church it meant the opening up of new territory. According to one missionary in Lagos in 1892 “often war is the means to open the gate through which the Gospel can be brought into the country” (Ibid). The spiritual sword is often preceded by the steel sword (Pieterse, 1992: 68). The initial efforts to bring the poor, benighted natives of African into the Christian fold did not succeed. It was only when the force of arms accompanied the missionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that converts were made. Conversion was thus brought by conquest and colonisation. The gospel was spread at the point of the gun (Ibid).

Terrifying tales about heathen rituals, idolatry and human sacrifice traditionally played an important part in missionary image-building about the non-

western world. Missionaries spread horror stories about African peoples. This image-building was operative even before the missionaries themselves left for Africa. In Bremen in March 1852, Cornelius Rudolf Vietor began writing a four-volume illustrated description, drawn in true colours, of Africa, such as a field with skeletons, swarming with satanic butchery and perversities. He had never set foot in Africa. This account on behalf of the 'Norddeutsche Missions-gesellschaft' reads like an inventory of repressed personal anxieties. This infernal Africa resembles certain descriptions from the Old Testament, for instance Jeremiah's texts on the valley of death, duly projected on to contemporary Africa (Ibid:68). Contrast this with the romantic image of the missionary as hero. The missionary summons up images of a Christian hero who, armed with the cross, preaching and baptising, journeys through remote and dangerous lands. The missionary stands alone among those black heathen idolaters as the solitary and exiled hero. Precisely because this kind of wishful thinking was unrealistic and the missions often made very little impact of any kind, it was only logical that a further degradation of the image of the native population should take place. That many missions failed was due, according to a widely accepted explanation, to the fact that one was dealing here with the 'domain of the devil' (Pieterse 1992:45). In 1854 the missionary Mallet stated in a report to the Norddeutsche Mission in Bremen that the heathen were not only ignorant and weak but above all unregenerate: the devil has exercised unlimited dominion over them for so long that they have become his slaves and have sunk into beastly and Hellish conditions (Ibid). Such explanations were essential to maintaining the missionary's identity. They were a safeguard against his going native in interaction with the heathen. In this way an enemy image was projected of the very population that was to be converted. Themes that keep recurring in this image are those of the evil witch doctor, the fetish and human sacrifice (Ibid: 68).

Officials and administrators came and went, but religious orders, ministers and priests remained in the colonies. Sometimes, as in Angola in 1854, the bishop acted as deputy governor. David Livingstone, the explorer- missionary, made his first journey (1848-53) in the service of the London Missionary Society; the objective was to keep the so-called missionary road open: the route whereby missionaries from

the British Cape Colony moved north into the interior. Years later Cecil Rhodes would proceed via the same route towards Matabeleland and there establish Rhodesia- now Zimbabwe. Livingstone's next journey was sponsored by the British Foreign Office, which gave him the rank of honorary consul. King Leopold II of Belgium hired Henry Stanley to found a colonial empire. The close connection between explorers and missionaries was inherited in the colonial regimes. In colonialism the Church, side by side with the state and colonial enterprises, formed the pillars which supported imperial expansion into Africa. Missions occupied an important place in the colonial enterprise. Where the seed of Christianity landed the will to resistance was weakened (Smith 1980:25-26). This had great impact on local culture, and it was also politically relevant as missionary education created a new elite. Many of Africa's post independence leaders were products of missionary schools. Besides, the churches were an important channel of colonial propaganda in the home country (Hochschild 1999:4). A medley of aims and feelings of imperialism was implicit in the mixture of missionary, commercial and strategic considerations in the name of which the explorations were undertaken. Colonialism formalised these in the structures they set down in Africa (Ibid: 45).

### ***3.3. Colonialism***

The metamorphosis of the Europeans in Africa from explorers and missionaries to colonisers meant a transition from an attitude of diplomacy to an attitude of domination. It was the colonial period that consolidated the stereotypical images of Africa and Africans; images of Africans as savage warriors or as child-like (Mackenzie 1984:252-5). One explanation for this is located in the nineteenth century emergence of Darwinism and social psychology that cast some as inferior and others as superior. Through the proposed biogenetic law, the evolution of a species, Africans as well as other peoples of the so called Third World were associated with cultural inferiority. Anthropological vision of Africans came to portray Africans as children. The image of Africans as children was one of the discourses used by colonialists; for example in the Belgian Congo, the relationship between the indigenous people and white colonials was similar to that of parents and

children. This paternalism was the legacy of Belgian colonialists in the Congo (Pieterse 1992:45; Slade 1962:10-15). Indigenous Congolese were not supposed to participate or do anything. They saw in the Belgian colonial master a father and a mother figure and they were portrayed in this way. Paternalism created inequality of opportunities between the indigenous natives and colonial masters. The system created dependence and submissiveness. The image of the lazy African emerged when natives were not able to meet the expectations of the Europeans, in particular in their capacity to extract raw materials (De Mey 2004:8). The link between representation and commerce and religion is crucial in the colonial era. Colonialism shaped how audiences in the West and elsewhere in the world came to perceive and understand events, peoples and places in Africa. The desire of missionaries to convert heathens to the cause of Christianity and the need of traders, merchants and commercial interests to efficiently organise workers and establish markets was combined under colonialism into an administrative structure that required particular representations of Africa and African peoples.

The close connection between the needs of capitalism and Christianity were incorporated in to colonial administration. Colonialism resulted in the systematic re-structuring of African societies. This emphasised the spread of civilisation, western values, capitalism and western forms of political authority (Curtin 1965:30). Any civilised society was defined as one that had a strong and centralised state, a firm sense of national identity, a competitive capitalist economy and a high level of technology, while a civilised man as one who had driven and ambition, who was competitive, individualistic, calculative and ruthless in pursuit of his interests, non-European societies and their members were by definition uncivilised (Pieterse 1992: 65). As part of the re-structuring of these societies, colonial administrations embarked on a policy of propaganda to convince Africans of the superiority of western values as part of the process of subjugating them. The link between colonialism and religion is often found in the discourse of missionaries reflected in the output of missionary societies, missionary letters, missionary magazines and missionary films (Ibid: 69). They were littered with military metaphors: it was a

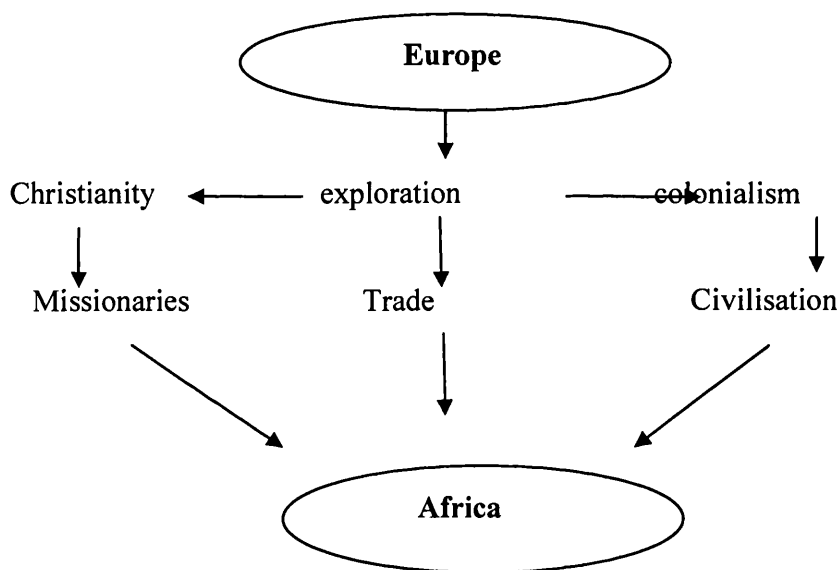
matter of battling, of conquering for Christ, by soldiers of Christ. This was not entirely out of place, for the traditional African religions and societies were often the nucleus of the resistance against colonialism. The glory and the fund raising for missions were in direct proportion to the degradation and diabolism of the heathen. A similar dynamic, the formation of enemy images to justify European aggression, was at work in colonial propaganda (Ramamurthy 2003:63).

In the missionary iconography it is the missionaries who occupy the central and dominating position. They display the world of the mission as self-involved, self-enclosed world, which has the church and the mission at the centre bringing salvation to those who need to be saved. What is remarkable in drawings as well as photographs of the missionary world is the absence of the native population. They are excluded. Dignitaries or elders with authority, African priests or traditional healers do not figure in the missionary iconography, unless segregated and stigmatised as demonic heathen. All these aspects of indigenous popular culture have been banished, eliminated. Hence we see the missionaries and nuns operating in capacities traditionally performed by the local culture: as transmitters of knowledge, as healers, as authority figures, usually surrounded by children rather than by adults (Slade 1962:40; see Pieterse 1992).

Christianity in Africa was effective mainly in combination with colonialism. It provided the ideological cement which linked colonial authorities and indigenous elites. It was through the mother church and its links to the colonial state that educated Africans were co-opted into the imperial venture. The actual configurations of religion were complex. Sometimes Christianity was on the African side, siding with some of the resistance movements, and the missions also played a significant part of the development of anti-colonial movements in the post-Second World period (Pieterse 1992:71). Many of the leaders of de-colonised Africa were educated in the Christian mission schools established throughout Africa. Much has changed since decolonisation with the indigenisation of the churches and an African theology taking shape. However, close ties between Christianity, colonial authorities and the explorers provided the legitimacy for the economic and commercial exploitation of the continent. Manufacturing images of Africa was an essential component of this.

The explorers created the image of the “dark continent”; the churches created the images of the fallen heathen and the ignoble savage, stereotypes which colonialism built on and elaborated. The demonisation of Africa was promoted by the missions and supported by the authorities. At the same time as devaluing Africa and Africans, Europe’s light shone brighter. The inferiority and backwardness of Africa – according to criteria established by Europeans – contrasted with the superiority and advanced state of Europe and the West (Pieterse 1992:172). The diagram/figure below was conceived to illustrate the way Europe used explorations to construct Africa in order to expand its business, to colonise, to evangelise (Christianise) and to civilise or impose its worldview on African natives over the years.

**Figure 1: Eurocentric Construction of Africa**



This relationship determined the nature of representation in the nineteenth century. European writers in this period usually represented Africa as a place of slavery and chaos. As has been said Africa was the ‘Dark Continent’ a land deprived of the light of Western civilisation. The backwardness of Africa was contrasted with the progress and enlightened nature of Europe. Africans were portrayed as immoral and ignorant. They were often represented as childlike, demonic, and practicing outlandish, barbaric customs. These negative portrayals of Africa and Africans meant that by the late nineteenth century most Westerners regarded colonisation of the African land their moral duty, it was what the poet Rudyard Kipling labelled the ‘White man’s

burden' (Mackenzie 1994:192-3). Europeans had to intervene in Africa until the indigenous people were sufficiently civilised to take their place on the world stage. However, there were other representations of Africa and Africans in European writing in this period. The Europeans who struggled for the abolition of the slave trade portrayed Africans as humans. Writers like Romantic poets such as William Blake, Robert Southey, William Wordsworth, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, drew attention to the atrocities suffered by Africans at the hands of Westerners. Their representation of Africans as 'noble savages' was nevertheless patronising in the childlike innocence they attributed to them. One theme that underpins more 'progressive' European attitudes to Africa is the notion that Africa is 'helpless' and the Europeans bring help to them. This notion of helping is couched in terms of bringing 'civilisation' to the continent or bringing aid and assistance. The former is deep-seated with Western culture. For example, as late as 1956 a textbook circulating in British schools could state:

The significant fact remains that the Europeans have brought civilisation to the peoples of tropical Africa, whose standards of living has, in most cases been raised as a result of their contact with white peoples (quoted in Mackenzie 1994: 193).

Aid is required for Africa because it is unable to help itself, as Harrison and Palmer (1986) note; the image is of a whole continent in distress. The dependency myth is perpetrated at a number of levels. Angela Berry (1988:90) links famines and starvation in Africa with the representation of the continent:

The starving child can be seen as Africa itself, unable to get beyond childhood, looking to Europe for salvation, even though independence have severed the umbilical cord ... the dependency myth neutralised the political debate ... and makes all intervention and aid to be acts of disinterested generosity. It also strips the continent of its dignity (Ibid: 90).

The imagery of Africa today is a legacy of the colonial period and the reproduction of negative representations of indigenous peoples by the church, colonial state and



the explorers who 'opened up' the continent have served as the yardstick by which Africa is judged. Research has shown the prevalence of these images in the modern media. Much of the scholarly study of representation of Africa in contemporary times has been undertaken in the US.

### ***3.4. Representation of Africa in US media***

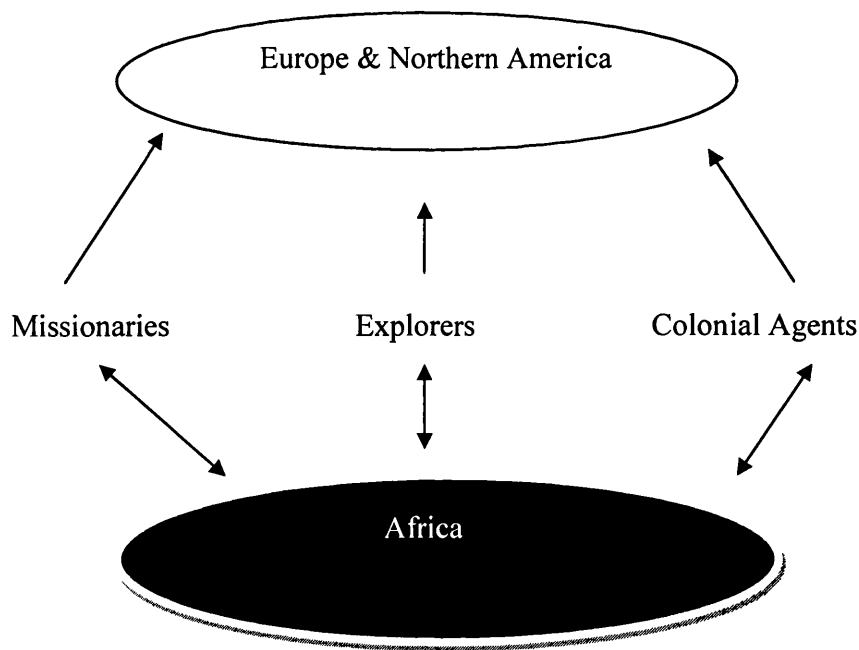
According to a report published in the *Times Magazine* of June 1, 1936 (quoted in Mengara 2001:195), the first image of sub-Saharan Africa that appeared to North Americans was the one of the 'dark continent'. The report appeared during the dedication of the African Memorial in New York in 1936. Since this period, considerable work on the representations of Africa in the media has been undertaken in the United States. This reflects the importance of Africa to the Afro-American community in the country and the attitudes of white Americans to the origins or 'roots' of their black fellow citizens. The image of Africa seems not to have changed much in the mind of American people to date. One American scholar, Jo Anne Fair (1993:5) noticed that while teaching her American students (the majority of whom are white and middle class) when she asked them to describe their images and ideas of "Africa and Africans", or particular countries on the African continent, she received a litany of stereotypical, negative, and often condescending descriptions. The students said things such as Africa is: "a basket case", "jungle-covered," "big game safari", "impoverished, falling apart, famine-plague, full of war," "AIDS-ridden" "war-torn", "apartheid", "weird," "brutal," "savage," "primitive," "backward," "tribal," "undeveloped" and "black." Moreover, "Africans" are described as: "having AIDS", "lazy", "crazy", "corrupt", "troubled", "underdeveloped", "fighting all the time", "primitive" and again "black". That her students constructed "Africa" and "Africans" racially as "black", alongside a host of very unfavourable attributes, she finds to be particularly revealing about the way in which "Africa" and "Africans" have been invented historically and reinvented contemporarily in North America. She notes that "fact" and "fiction" constantly reinforce each other in the construction of Africa and Africans as the undifferentiated "Others" (Ramamurthy 2003:5-7). Fair's findings can be related to the way in which

most Americans learn about Africa and Africans through the news media. What the West learns about the African continent, its countries, and peoples originates in large part from media produced content (Fair 1993:5-8).

### ***3.5. The News Media and Africa***

To understand the representation of Africa in the news media we must emphasise the cultural roots of western understanding of the continent and its peoples. This study has created a diagram (see Figure 2) to summarise the origins of the way Africa has been represented which are the basis of the stereotypes that appear in the news media today. The means to represent and construct Africa over the years came as a result of Western exploration, Christian mission and colonial administration and we used to justify the colonial world view. Christianity and colonialism that first painted the image of Africa and its stereotypes such as dark continent and African natives as primitive, barbaric, backward, that exists today.

**Figure 2: Origins of the Western Images of Africa**



Research on news media coverage of Africa suggests that, if not the least covered region of the world, Africa is one of the most seldom covered (Golan 2008:43). There are practical reasons for this. Getting the story out of Africa is not easy. Reporters must often contend with sources reluctant to speak for fear of their own safety, difficult travel conditions, censorship and inadequate communication facilities that make transmitting stories at times nearly impossible (Behr 1969:177). In addition to these daily reporting problems, media organizations must make a large financial commitment to maintain a correspondent in Africa. But when the media do cover African countries, stories often conceive of Africa in a very narrow focus. Most commonly, media coverage is of an Africa enmeshed in a series of political and military imbroglios, and ethnic violence. Moreover, before the decline of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, relations between East and West, the Cold War framework often informed this crisis coverage, as violence and conflict in Africa were the site for the so-called proxy wars between the superpowers. Thus, for African countries to be part of “all the news that is fit to print”, as the slogan of the *New York Times* pronounces, it seems that news stories had to fit the Cold War frame (Golan 2008:44). Nonetheless, news is more than a collection of facts that simply fit a particular ideological or political frame. It is part of a narrative form that is anchored in the cultural understanding audiences bring to new and recurring events, issues and problems in society. In telling a story, the news media retell and reinterpret versions of that particular story as told by other powerful social and political institutions and rooted in the history of the society within which they are told (Fair 1993:6-8). In other words we cannot separate news from the culture and society within which it is produced and the history of these societies.

### ***Dominant representations of Africa***

The research identifies a number of stereotypes of Africa that consistently appear and re-appear in the Western news media which according to Michira (2002) constitutes ‘a systematic trend of misrepresenting Africa in the West’. The popular images in the West identified by Michira and other include primeval irrationality, tribal anarchy,

civil war, political instability, flagrant corruption, incompetent leadership and managerial inaptitude, hunger, famine and starvation as well as rampant diseases, especially AIDS. Africa is seen as 'comprising of uncivilised and heathen peoples who are culturally, intellectually, politically and technically backward or inferior, who are incapable of governing themselves, or at least embracing democratic principles of governance' (Fair 1993:10). The representation is negative. Several kinds of stereotypical representations can be highlighted. The first aspect of this kind of representation to stress is that the continent is portrayed as different and distinction from Western society, it is the other'.

### *Africa as the 'other'*

The process of creating and representing Africa and Africans as the "other" is part of the representational history of the continent. Past fears and antagonisms are encoded in images and symbols, in sayings and rationalisations, which set self and other apart, in ways which no longer be part of the mentality in the West but which are part of the cultural baggage. The hundreds of years of Africa's unequal engagement with the West through the slave trade, colonial and postcolonial relations have produced a system of classification of people and societies, which has left Africa marginalised. It is within this location of Africa on the margins, where Africa occupies a space between so-called traditional/underdeveloped and modernity/developed that the weight of historically bound relations of domination manifests itself. This manifestation takes place in the images and representations of Africa and Africans produced by white Europeans and Americans. These images and representations, drawn from a range of sources such as religious tales, storytelling, popular ideas, and scientific thought are tropes for relations between the West and Africa, naturalized and objectified for 'ready consumption' (Fair 1993:10). Africa in the western mind cannot endure outside Western discourses, for it is within these discourses that the West confirms the otherness of Africa it has created. Africa's media image as it exists in the American and European press and media has been formed, informed, and re-informed within these discourses in which the meaning of Africa is made.

Within news stories occurs a reproduction of hierarchy and domination reworked and updated. Africa is for the western consumer of media a place over there and not here, and its peoples are not 'us'. In writing and reporting about Africa oppositional terms such as "here/there", "we/they", "ours/theirs" are part of the process of representation. Africa is the "object" of "our" study or reportage and placed "over there", outside how we act and behave.

It is at that moment when the object is "spatially incarcerated" as the "other" that any opportunity for relations based upon dialogue rather than domination ends. Spatially separating countries, cultures, or peoples allows difference to remain unproblematised as merely "us" and "them" (Fair 1993: 10). The news story, as a functionalist text representing social reality, serves to create and perpetuate difference to the extent that it re-presents the "other" by reproducing Africa and Africans within the discourses of the West. In doing this, the specificity of African experiences and actions is lost, and news of Africa reduced to generalities. When the news media report on violence occurring among blacks in Africa, it may be labelled "black on black" or "tribal", something specific to them. That violence among whites is not labelled "white on white or tribal" (if it is labelled at all, violence among white tribes is called ethnic or nationalist) points to the powerful process of naming and un-naming. What is attributed to black Africans and for that matter to all people of African descent is named in ways shaped by trans-cultural and racial characteristics defined by dominant white European and American cultures. In existentialist terms, "black" is "not white" and therefore, "black" in relation to "white" is made different.

"For not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man. All that is "black," then, is positioned at the margins of society as the invisible, unheard, and nameless "other." In the process of making "black" different, the representation of black Africa and the historical and cultural experiences of black Africans have been objectified through systems of classifying continents, countries, and peoples (quoted in Fair 1993:11).

Classification is all about bringing certain people or groups together and keeping others apart, especially to ensure that relations deemed unnatural remain separate. What individuals and groups invest in the particular meaning they give to common classificatory systems by the use they make of them is infinitely more than their “interest” in the usual sense of the term, it is their whole social being, everything which defines their own idea of themselves, the primordial, tacit contract whereby they define “us” as opposed to “them”, “other people” and which is the basis of the exclusions (not for the likes of us) and the inclusions they perform among the characteristics produced by the common classificatory system (Fair 1993:11; Golan 2008:43, Ankomah 2008:1).

Any system of classification necessarily divided, imposing legitimacy on divisions in the act of representing groups. Classification is a product of historically articulated power relations, whereby the group doing the classifying exerts its power and authority through the naming of characteristics upon which other groups are divided. Africa is constructed as the “other” based upon a system of classification that sees race as an organizing principle of social relations. “Blackness,” historically infused with notions of the “savage” and the “primitive,” is a product of Western society. Media images or representations of Africa as black, savage and primitive carve up social reality, providing a space within which individual or communities comprehend experience and act. This space, of course, is imbued with meaning by western journalists creating a distance between the West and Africa. News coverage of Africa by promoting “otherness” reduces Africa to an evolutionary time scale that emphasizes backwardness, slavery and primitiveness. The news media in their representation of Africa reinforces the “otherness” of Africa by focussing on tribal war, famine and poverty (Fair 1993:5; Pieterse 1992:64). The “othering” of Africa is achieved through ethnic and racial stereotypes. Stereotyping or the repetitive framing of particular images in certain ways eventually leads to those images being seen as the definitive statement on those people and the groups to which they belong. Images thus become transformed over time, from being merely symbolic to connoting reality. The media’s tendency towards simplification means that sophisticated discussions which contextualise complicated ideas, histories and events are routinely

ignored in favour of reductionist explanations which the imagined mass audience will more easily understand. Contained within the stereotyping process is the structuring of implicit power relations where the gaze is of the dominant, looking at the subordinate: how they are different from us rather than how we are different from them. The gaze has traditionally been white, where whiteness is taken as the profoundly unproblematic norm against which all 'others' are measured. As Dyer (1988) points out, whiteness as a discrete ethnic category has never been the subject of serious scrutiny (quoted in Ross 1996:2), since the powerful have no need to explain or justify themselves to the powerless. Stereotypes of Africa and Africans can be mapped against the history of writings about 'race', much of which emerged from travellers' tales and documented accounts of explorations, and later exploitations, conducted by voyagers travelling to the African coast (Ross 1996:3). Although many of the reports brought home by travellers were factual and alluded to the high living standards and riches of some of the African merchants, such facts were often interspersed with fantastic fictions (Ibid).

Much of casting the unfamiliar in light of the familiar can be seen in the ways in which the colonial powers administered the lands they conquered, such as cities in the Congo named Elisabethville, Stanleyville or Leopoldville. Such naming made the global local in the nineteenth century. Natural features suffered the same process: Lakes took on such European names as Lake Albert, and the African names by which some features of indigenous landscape were known prior to the European penetrations slowly disappeared. One of the factors that can help to explain the re-shaping, re-naming and re-mapping of the African continent could be found in the necessity for Europe to recreate a new home for itself in Africa. For this to happen, it has to europeanise the black continent and make it an extension of itself. Expropriating the continent of its African identities therefore meant, concurrently, an imposition of a European identity over the African infrastructure. African identities thus had to be suppressed and reformulated to fit the Western model of civilisation. For the imperial process to be effective the knowledge that Africans had of themselves and of their own environment also had to be obliterated. Thus, the various 'discoveries' of peoples, lands, mountains and rivers were presented by the

various explorers as happening for the first time thanks to them and owing to their unfaltering courage. The Africans who lived around those areas and who had names for all of those paradoxically newly 'discovered' things were seen as invisible presences whose knowledge of the existence of these things did not count. Also, despite the fact that all the European explorers Livingstone, Stanley, Cameron and many others who travelled across and throughout Africa used native informants who usually took them to those 'undiscovered' places, native knowledge was not considered valuable. The basic assumption in the European mind was therefore that the acquaintance that the natives had with their environments did not exceed the confines of their tribal dwellings: beyond these territorial delimitations, there was only darkness (Mudimbe 1988:1).

### ***3.5. African Stereotypes***

The colonial period moulded the stereotypical image of Africans particularly that of savage, backward, primitive warrior to stereotype of Africans as children. Most contemporary images of Africa reached its peak after the Enlightenment period in Europe, where famous philosophers such as Hobbes, Montesquieu, Condorcet, Hegel, Hume and later Victor Hugo and others develop stereotypes about Africans as primitive peoples who had no history, therefore, they could not claim to know themselves and had to be told who they were supposed to be by Europeans. They were cultural children shaped by sexual lust, immorality and degeneration. They could not rule themselves because of their primitive irresponsibility, therefore, they needed enlightened masters to show them the ways of superior civilisation and deliver them from ignorance (Mengara 2001:6-10). They could not claim ownership of Africa or even of their lands since they were incapable of cultivating and managing them. They had no right to human justice, being the inferior race they were. They had no religion and therefore needed the light of Christianity if they were to be freed from their chaotic state of nature and from animism (Ibid). Africans were child-like in that their behaviour was deemed shaped by sexual lust, immorality and degenerate behaviour. They could not rule themselves because of their primitive



irresponsibility, therefore they needed enlightenment masters to show them the ways of superior civilisation and deliver them from ignorance (Ibid). Henry Morton Stanley's *In Darkest Africa* (1890) introduced the Western world to an Africa filled with strange tribes and exotic landscapes. Contributing to the existing plethora of travel narratives on Africa, Stanley's book enjoyed acclaim in the Victorian era (Murray 1993:140). Of particular fascination for Stanley (1890:67) was the 'primeval forest,' specifically the forests of central Africa. It is in Stanley's description of central Africa, the Congo and its forest that the concept Dark Continent first emerged. Stanley draws his audience into a world of 'venom, fury, voracity, and activity'. The forest is the site of a Darwinian struggle between man and nature, where 'death from wounds, sickness, decay, hereditary disease and old age, and various accidents in the forest, removing the unfit, the weakly, the inadapted, as among humanity'. Stanley wrote that in all forests, except the primeval forest, 'wild men' render nature 'prostate.' Yet it is the forest where 'there are few places penetrable without infinite labour' that Stanley romanticises as a place of resplendent horror (Stanley 1890:70-2). If Stanley is still remembered and celebrated as a great explorer, then his description of the continent played on stereotypes of Africa and especially the Congo.

There were some who challenged Stanley's stereotypical representations of Africa, arguing that they were simply products of his own imagination (Akeley 1924:224). In his book the *Brightest Africa*, Akeley, and later writers like Wonders, Jenkins and Dance, hoped to present Africa as a different, natural and positive place and to change the Western public's ideas of Africa, even if he fell into misrepresentation by calling Africa a natural place yet to be explored and discovered by naturalist researchers (see Wonders 1993:12-24; Jenkins 1978:73-85; Dance 1978:191-6). However, the images of Africa since Stanley have continued to be largely negative. Such images permeate the perspectives taken by the powerful Western media, personified by editors, journalists, politicians and even academics. Africa is the 'other', something that has to be tamed politically and culturally (Fair 1993:10).

### *Africa as a place of hunger, famine and starvation*

Of all the images of African people that are covered by the Western media, famine and starvation are the most persistent (Moeller 1999:98). Not on any single day will one read the online news by various Western media outlets and not find a story about how famine is ravaging or stalking Africa. The news texts are frequently accompanied by moving pictures of some poor, emaciated and malnourished figures of women and children who are staring into the camera, their eyes empty and hopeless, as if pleading for mercy. Whether these reports and pictures are from Ethiopia, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Botswana or the Sahel regions of West Africa, they all tell the same tale. More often than not, the reporters and editors splash headlines that speak in general or absolute terms about hunger and starvation in Africa. Few of these reports bother to shed some light on the underlying factors that precipitate the onset of famine in Africa. Drought, a natural calamity, plays a huge role in the cause of famine because farm produce and livestock products considerably decline during the drought spells. However, other factors include debt relief and mismanagement, but especially armed conflict, some of which is fuelled by Western powers that are protecting their interests, (Moeller 1999:98, see also Fair 1993, Michira 2002). The reports rarely mention the impact of unfair and exploitative trade policies of the West that harm African countries or the land policies that place the greater percentage of fertile arable lands in the hands of few (often white) farmers, as happened in Zimbabwe and South Africa. The factors that are usually cited in the Western media are corruption and mismanagement of resources and sometimes the effects of AIDS, but again in a superficial way (Fair 1993:5).

The role of Western companies and governments in corruption and mismanagement is neglected. Having painted such a hopeless image of Africa, it is natural that the West must come to help Africa out of this mess. Such help can range from calls for aid from Western powers, loans from the World Bank and IMF, humanitarian and 'disaster relief' operations by the non-governmental agencies like the Red Cross, World Vision, Save the Children, and Medecins sans Frontieres, to outright appeals by the Western media for the re-colonisation of Africa as the only solution (Michira 2002). In an editorial entitled 'Weep for the Lost Continent', *The*

*Independent on Sunday* declared: 'Africa is so much without hope that it is difficult to believe it can help itself. If Western countries had the will, they could recognise the continent that they left in such haste' (Simonsen 2010:5; see also Michira 2002).

### *Africa as a place of endemic violence, conflicts and civil wars*

Many regions of Africa have experienced various forms of violence, ranging from tribal clashes, armed conflicts, and civil wars to genocide. Be it the Somali crisis, the government versus rebel wars in the Congo and Angola, or the Rwandan genocide of 1994, reports of this kind have a high premium in the Western media and they automatically earn a headline or even top story status. While it may be difficult to achieve total objectivity in media reports, it is not lost to many observers that reports in the Western media about war and conflicts in Africa are often crisis-driven in such a way as to imply that Africans are naturally savage, warlike, and violent and steeped in primordial tribal feuds. The perspectives taken by reporters, the kind of headlines, pictures, statistics, and the language that they use, all point to a picture created to serve certain interests agendas. Much information is usually omitted (and sometimes added) to give the Western audiences and governments what they want (Fair 1992:8, see also Simonsen 2010:6).

The news analyses purposively choose not to mention the fact that the US supported, both materially and militarily, certain despotic regimes in Africa during the Cold War. It has, over time, also been supporting undemocratic governments as a means of creating a conducive environment for the exploitation of Africa's natural (mainly, oil and mineral) resources. Said Barre of Somalia and Mobutu of Zaire are just but two of such despots. Yet this does not seem to be reported consistently to the Western audiences. The Western media conveniently avoids talking about the connection between these civil wars and the colonial legacy. Politicizing ethnicity by pitting certain "tribes" against others in the "divide and rule" policy was adopted mainly by the British and Belgian colonial governments. Moreover, the artificial (arbitrary) drawing up of national boundaries during the "scramble and partition" of Africa saw the division and polarisation of African communities that had otherwise

lived as one for centuries. Such issues never see the light of day in the Western media (Simonsen 2010:26).

### ***Africa as a place of infectious diseases and death***

In the past two decades, AIDS has had a devastating impact on the social and economic development of the human race. Statistics provided by WHO and other humanitarian agencies vindicate the fact that the majority of the HIV/AIDS sufferers are in Africa. Given the aforesaid, the Western media have succeeded in giving Aids an African face. With highly sensationalised headlines and pictures of the infected population, they seem to tell their audience that this “their” problem, not “ours”. The media attributes the rapid spread of HIV and AIDS in Africa to ignorance, the reluctance to change sexual behaviour, as well as backward cultural and religious traditions that make talking about sexuality and AIDS taboo. Such explanations are prominently fronted (Fair 1993:5). The issue of poverty and corruption are then mentioned as having a role in the spread of the disease. Related to poverty, however, is the fact that the majority of those poor people do not have access to medical care that their counterparts in the West have. But this is not given due publicity. As long as the gap between the West and African countries continues to grow, AIDS, Ebola, malaria and a plethora of other diseases will remain wearing an African face. As far as the Western Fourth Estate is concerned, “Africa has a grim future”, or rather “Africans face extinction” unless the Western governments and humanitarian agencies come to its rescue (Michira 2002; John 1987:1-6).

### ***3.6. News, news values and the production of stereotypes***

The penultimate section of this chapter looks at the context within which representation takes place in the news media. It examines the production of news and in particular the criteria for newsworthiness which appear to guide the selection of events to report in the news media. This draws on the work of Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge (1965) whose study of the Norwegian press coverage of several international crises including the Congo in 1960 led to a typology of the factors that are regarded as making events newsworthy.

*The Times* reporting is part of a system of international news gathering that was established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The growth of empire and the rise of this system are intimately connected. At the same conference that partitioned Africa in Berlin in 1870 the European news agencies divided the world into spheres of control. They set up a global news cartel through agreement in which the separate agencies, at that time Reuter, Havas and Wolff enjoyed monopoly on sales of foreign news in particular parts of the world. They provided coverage for other news agencies around the world including the US agencies, Associated Press (AP) and the United Press International (UPI) who until the 1930s were dependent on the European news coverage for their international news. By the 1970s, America and Europe monopolised the gathering of the international news – the ‘Big Four’ AP, Reuter, AFP and UPI dominated the global news market and their perspectives and values dominated the representation of the world. News from certain regions such as sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and some parts of Asia became part of a media system that focused on news about crisis, human disasters, catastrophes, coups and attempted coups, rebellions and civil wars from their regions. Other parts of the globe such as Europe and Northern America are given a more diverse and comprehensive coverage. Journalists working whether they are based in New York, London, Paris, Asia or Africa can be seen as part of this system. Global news reflects and is determined by the international configuration of power. According to William Dorman (1986:428):

Knowledge of foreign affairs actually comes from a system of news gathering deeply flawed by the subtle interplay of ideology, ethnocentrism, dubious professional practice and economic forces.

News out from Africa relies on the international agencies that have local offices and representatives in most countries. Even major news organisations with their own reporters and news gathering operations rely on the agencies, particularly from the more remote parts of the world. In some African countries the agency reporters are the only western reporters. Local journalists and correspondents are employed as stringers but, in order to earn their income, they send the Western news

agencies the material which they know they want. News stories reflect the priorities of the largest western news organisations who buy most of the international news from the agencies. There is a vicious circle whereby news values developed by the news agencies are then revalidated by reference to the buying public. The perceived demand of the reading public for international news validates the system. The lack of interest in faraway places leads to news reporting of the Third World only when there are 'coups, wars and famines'. Local journalists are 'trained' to fit the mould and supply such stories. Agency head offices, local reporters, local editors and the reading public are caught within a closed circle of practices and assumptions about the nature of news (Smith 1980:72, see also Williams 2011).

The world's best-known agencies which supply international news in bulk are AP, AFP and Reuters. Between them these agencies today have nearly 50,000 offices spread around the globe (although by no means evenly spread). The three agencies send out, between them, 34 million words per day and claim to provide nine-tenths of the entire foreign news output of the world's newspapers, radio and television stations. Their networks of correspondents are by no means geographically balanced in terms of location. Taking the world agencies together, 34% of their correspondents are kept in the United States alone, 28% in Europe (East and West), 17% in Asia and Australia, 11% in Latin America, 6% in the Middle East and 4% in Africa (Brown 2003:90-2; see also Williams 2011). This geographical imbalance is reflected in the nature of news. The US is covered most and Africa least. The agencies argue that the imbalances reflect the lack of interest in news from Africa. Their African operations run at a loss and that they are in effect subsidising their news-gathering operations in this part of the world: AP for example, collects only 1% of its revenue from the Third world as a whole, yet spends 5% or more of its revenue on collecting news from the Third World (Alleyne 2003: 69; Gowing 2009:20).

At the heart of this system is a set of news values that determine the structure and selection of news. Galtung and Ruge (1965) identify several criteria for the determination of what event is newsworthy. These include criteria such as *relevance* which refers to the interest the event is likely to have to the audience; *timeliness* which refers to whether an event is a recent occurrence; *simplification* refers to

whether the events can be described simply and in a straightforward way; *unexpectedness* in that the event is out of the ordinary and so on. Other scholars have attempted to provide their version of newsworthiness (for example, McShane, 1979; Harcup and O'Neil, 2001; Harrison, 2006). This has resulted in Galtung and Ruge's classification being updated, amended and criticised. However, from the point of view of this study several factors stand out in defining what is selected as news. First, it is argued that news is about elite people and elite nations. The actions of elites are 'more consequential than the activities of others' (Galtung and Ruge, 1965, 69). The focus also satisfies a demand for understanding events as the consequences of the actions of individuals and groups. Second, news appeals to those who consume it. It has to be according to Galtung and Ruge in 'consonance' and relevant to audience interests and expectations. It is the product of cultural proximity between news and its audience. Third, news is overwhelming negative and this fits the broad range of criteria of newsworthiness classified by Galtung and Ruge. It is unexpected, unambiguous, simple, relevant and so on. Harlley (1982) adds that certain topics appear to dominate the news agenda: politics, economy, foreign affairs, sport and domestic stories.

Research indicates that the international news that emerges onto the pages of news outlets such as *The Times* on is broadcast across the airwaves by organisations such as the BBC is the consequence of an international news gathering system that preferences western values, interests and perspectives. It is also takes a particular shape, with an emphasis on elites, negative and personalised stories, as a result of a system of news values which reflect certain assumptions about what is important about events. Certain subjects are preferred and above all news is not value free.

### ***3.8. Agenda Setting***

Newspapers – and the media in general – are seen as playing an important role in shaping public opinion. According to Habermas (1992:182) newspapers play an important role in influencing the ways people think of themselves and others who are different from them as the print media shape the public's world view. The print

media became carriers and leaders of public opinion and instrument in spreading political ideologies. This meant that the press changed from being a merchant of news to being a dealer in public opinion. Habermas states that it is through communication that people develop and share the multi-dimensional impression of themselves and of others that become part of the structures of meaning they rely upon to guide each other through day-to-day routines to the degree that these impressions are broadly shared, then they exist as framework or structure of meaning within the culture that the society relies upon to guide others through interactions that may be outside the usual routines (Oscar 1998:3-4). It is through communication that communities develop and share the multidimensional impressions of themselves that become part of the structures of meaning they rely upon. The media ownership, finance, as well as market demographics, influence the ways in which the representations of particular groups such as Europeans, Africans, Asians, Europeans, North Americans and South Americans have varied over time (Oscar 1998:5). Habermas (1992) states that the newspaper can determine the ways its readers look at other nations and other groups of peoples or races from the daily assemblage of texts and discourses they come across and as a result the press can influence the ways peoples of different nations and continent look at each other (see also Ferguson 1998:129).

The effect of the media and the press in particular on opinion is a matter of debate between scholars. Rather than examine the way in which a paper such as *The Times* influence what people think this thesis focuses on the capacity of the news media to determine what we think about. The agenda setting function of the news media has been part of mass communication research since 1947 when it started in the United States. According to Graber (1994: 75-79) agenda setting research in mass communication began by studies of the ability of powerful groups and influential organisations that exerted social control by influencing the production and distribution of news. They were seen as able to manipulate the media to promote their ideas and views. Rather than the news media 'mirror' society they reflected the views of the elite or powers that be. The actual term 'agenda setting' was first used by Mc Combs and Shaw (1972) who argued that the media indicated what were the



main issues of the day and what were the best ways to think about them. Subsequently the notions of 'framing' and 'priming' have served the purpose of describing the ways in which the media set the public agenda (see McQuail:2008). The ability of political actors to use the news media to persuade the audience to focus their thoughts on particular issues, objects and communities across the globe while promoting their own perspectives and interests rather than reporting objectively has been the focus on scholarly research in recent years (Graber 1994: 80). Agenda setting assumes that the audience is exposed to messages that emphasise certain issues and certain interpretations which receive heavy coverage.

This thesis seeks to see if in the reporting of the Congo *The Times* coverage focused on specific themes, actors and sources as well as put forward particular interpretations of the events reported. Was there a particular agenda set by the paper for understanding the events in the Congo between 1885 and 2006? What was that agenda focussed on and did that agenda change?

### *Summary*

The chapter has shown that contemporary media representation of the African continent is deeply rooted in history. The images of Africa were constructed by Europeans during early years of Christianity, exploration and colonialism. Much of the scholarly discussion touches on the concept of the stereotype which is the process of categorising a group of peoples, places and their behaviours. The chapter highlights that research clearly indicates that European political, economic and cultural needs promoted particular forms of stereotypical representation of Africa, its peoples and nations in the Western news media. Europe from the earliest days of international interaction located itself as the centre of the world as represented through various imagery and iconography. European explorers and missionaries were significant source of myth formation about Africa. It was colonialism that resulted in the systematic restructuring of African continent in order to spread Western values, capitalism and political authority. Research shows that in the western media Africa tends to be represented as comprising uncivilised peoples who are culturally and

technically backward, inferior, incapable of governing themselves, unable to embrace democratic principles of governance. The news media promote images are generally negative include a continent of civil wars, anarchy, poverty and a fertile ground for rampant diseases such as AIDs which are regularly reported. The continent is painted as a place of hunger, famine, starvation, violence, conflicts and civil wars in the news media but these images, representations and stereotypes of Africa are rooted within western culture. They are also linked to the way in which international news is produced and the nature of news values which are rooted in western culture and cultural assumptions. The news media are seen by some scholars as setting the agenda for popular understanding of Africa and Africans which is based around narrow and stereotypical forms of the representation. Before looking at the stereotypical representation of Africa in the media it is important to draw attention to the nature representation and stereotyping.

## **Chapter Four: Research Methodology**

### ***Introduction***

This chapter discusses the methodology that was used to analyse editorials, letters and news articles from The London *Times* newspaper which was selected to carry out the examination of the historic representation of the Congo. The main research question for this study was: what have been the changing representations of the Congo in *The Times* 1885-2006? The secondary questions that follow from this are:

- (a) What are the themes of the stories covered in the reporting of the Congo 1885-2006?
- (b) Who are the authors of the articles and commentaries and what are the standard discursive conventions and tropes that they draw upon and what the primary sources of information cited?
- (c) What are the main topics, stereotypes and images that pervade the reporting and articles?

These are relatively straightforward in terms of scholarly examination of the content and discourse of media coverage of Africa and African related events. However, the study also seeks to look at the changing nature of the representation over time using a periodization. This enables the study to identify changes in stereotyping and historical disjuncture in *The Times* reporting of the Congo. Content analysis proved to be the best method to use in gathering and analysing news and editorial items from *The Times* digital archives and microfilms. It enabled the researcher to identify the main themes, authors, sources and images that dominate the coverage. Discourse analysis was used as a secondary method to understand and interpret the language used in the texts and address the questions which were related to finding out the changing representation of the Congo over more than a hundred years. The approaches of both methods are discussed in this chapter including the problems encountered in gathering, processing and examining the data and in identifying the sample, its coding and categorisation.

#### **4.1. Content Analysis**

Content analysis is the primary method use in this research. According to Berelson (1952: 18), who is one of the pioneers of the method of content analysis, defines the method as a research technique for 'the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication'. Content analysis requires clear criteria and guidelines to be set, and is a useful method because the personal biases of the researcher are mitigated, making it an effective tool for media research. Content analysis is a valuable method to capture, quantify and analyse the media messages from newspapers, television, radio, cinema and advertising and other media.

Content analysts apply their method to a selected sample of the texts to be quantified and analysed. Selecting the sample is therefore a major decision. Which newspapers to look at, how to create a sample of these newspapers (if a sample is needed), what specifically needs to be analysed (parts of the newspaper, such as on the front page or headlines, images, etc.) are all decisions that need to be made. According to Gunter (2000:61), content analysis is effective for the following purposes, among others: to describe patterns or trends in media portrayals, testing hypotheses about policies or aims of media producers; comparing media content with the real world; assessing the representations of particular groups in society (see also Wimmer and Dominick 1994). For this thesis comparing the output of a newspaper over different historical periods the method is argued as appropriate.

Content analysis as a research design was first initiated during the Second World War, as it was generally regarded by Allied intelligence as a functional method of analysing the content of radio programmes produced by the enemy (Gunter 2000:55; Berger 2000:173). It is commonly defined as a research technique for the classification and description of communication content; it stresses the systematic analysis of data and news content (Gunter 2000:56). Early definitions of content analysis required that inferences from content data be derived strictly from the frequency with which symbols or themes appear in the text. Fifty years of

communication research have made it plain that there is no such simple relationship between media content, its reception and any social implications arising. Yet content analysis can help provide some indications of relative prominences and absences of key characteristics in media texts. However, the inferences that can be drawn from such indications depend entirely on the context and framework of interpretation by which the texts analysed are circumscribed (Hansen et al 1988:91-6). Content analysis analyses texts and suggests their implications for consumers or readers. It can be both qualitative and quantitative. Meanings are coded in signs and can be decoded (Bertrand & Hughes 2005:174). This is why one of the main purpose of this study is to examine texts in *The Times* newspapers that were written as far back as 1885 to quantify, code them accordingly and then interpret the message of the authors, writers and journalists who wrote them at a different point in history, to understand what they meant at the time when the texts were written and today as this study is being done.

There are many definitions of content analysis. Krippendorff (1980:21) defines content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context. Walizer and Wiener (1978 in Wimmer & Dominick 2000:135) say content analysis as systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information. Kerlinger (1986:125) defines content analysis as a research design that ensures the measuring of variables involving three concepts that require elaboration. First, content analysis is *systematic*, this is to say the content to be analysed is selected accordingly to explicit and consistently applied rules. Sample selection must follow proper procedures, and each item must have an equal chance of being included in the analysis. The evaluation process must be systematic: all content under consideration is to be treated in exactly the same manner. There must be uniformity in the coding and analysis procedures. Systematic evaluation simply means that one and only one set of guidelines is used for evaluation throughout the study. Alternating procedures in an analysis are a sure way to confound the results. Second, content analysis is *objective*, that is, the researcher's personal idiosyncrasies and biases should not enter into the findings. If replicated by another researcher, the analysis should yield roughly the same results. Operational

definitions and rules for the classification of variables should be sufficiently explicit and comprehensive that other researchers who repeat the process will arrive at the same decisions. Unless a clear set of criteria and procedures is established that fully explains the sampling and categorisation methods, the researcher does not meet the requirement of objectivity and the reliability of the results may be called into question. Complete objectivity, however is seldom achieved. The specification of the unit of analysis and the precise makeup and definition of relevant categories are areas in which individual researchers must exercise subjective choice (Kerlinger 1986:144-5).

Content analysis is mainly *quantitative*. The goal of content analysis is the accurate representation of a body of messages. Quantification is important in fulfilling that objective, because it aids researchers in the quest for precision. Additionally, quantification allows researchers to summarise results and to report them succinctly. If measurements are to be made over intervals of time, comparisons of the numerical data from one time period to another can help simplify and standardise the evaluation procedure. Finally, quantification gives researchers additional statistical tools that can aid in interpretation and analysis. This study quantifies the number of the news items found in *The Times* newspapers as it looks at the content of each text published during the period sampled for this study and what texts meant when they were written (Kerlinger quoted in Wimmer & Dominic 2000:116-35).

The purpose of the content analysis in this study was to identify and count the occurrence of specified topics in *The Times* news texts, editorials and letters from the sampled periods in the coverage of the Congo. The aim was to measure the regularity of the recurrence of certain topics and the nature of the representations they produced. It was also the aim of this study to identify the sources used and cited in the texts to see the extent to which local, as opposed to Western and external sources of information are accessed. This enabled the study to be able to understand to what degree and to what extent certain kinds sources of information appear and whether they change over time. These quantitative indicators allow us to describe the

intensity of the meanings in the texts and the relationship between media and the realities which they seek to reflect (see Holsti 1969:6).

### *Strengths of content analysis*

Hansen et al (1988:91) state that content analysis has been and continues to be one of the most frequently used methods in mass communication research. If the study wishes to describe and analyse media in a more comprehensive and objective way, then it must employ a systematic method. Public relations firms use content analysis to monitor the subject matter of company publications, and some labour unions now conduct content analyses of the mass media to examine their images. Content analysis is one such method for the systematic analysis of communications content as over the past decade, the symbols and messages contained in the mass media have become increasingly popular research topics in both the academic sector and the private sector (Ibid).

The growing use of the method is due to the fact that it is based on measurable figures. Conclusions are drawn from the facts presented and not from ideologically induced interpretation of issues and presentations (Bertrand & Hughes 2005:181). During the present century, some of the most spectacular early uses of content analysis were in propaganda analysis. Through the systematic analysis of German radio broadcasts, allied intelligence was able to monitor, and in some cases predict, troop movements, the launch and location new military campaigns, and the development and deployment of new weapons. While these studies were a case of using content analysis for finding out about the intentions of the originator of messages, the use of content analysis in media research has more often been that of examining how news, drama, advertising, and entertainment output reflect social and cultural issues, values, and phenomena (Wimmer & Dominick 2000:136).

One of the primary advantages is that content analysis is not expensive when applied to found texts; it does not interfere with people's lives, so entails few ethical problems. It is comparatively easy in the digital age to get media material including from the past which makes it easier for press analysis as complete archives usually

exist and are accessible. Content analysis can deal equally easily with current events or past events or both (provided the evidence has survived). Although there is a question about the ways in which such material is archived. It poses less ethical problems as it does not require dealing with people directly. It does not depend on infallible memory, and is efficient at managing large contents. Content analysis is excellent for managing large amounts of data which can then be quantified and compared with statistics about the real world (Bertrand & Hughes 2005:184).

The use of content analysis allowed the researcher to collect texts from the digital archives of *The Times* newspaper that are available in the Welsh National Library, other libraries across the country, including Swansea University library, to go back to microfilm and news banks to collect back issues, print them out, code them and then analyse them to find out how the Democratic Republic of Congo has been covered and represented in Great Britain.

To conclude, content analysis is a unit of measurement and the counting of items, stories, sources and topics found in the selected sample of study for example the newspapers or other media texts. Content analysis is one of a range of methods for managing and studying large samples of media content to be compared over time. It is for this reason that I argue that it is a useful approach for exploring media constructions of the public understanding of social and political issues. The method is useful in this study in many ways, first in the selection of *The Times* newspaper which was used to look at the western coverage of Africa in one specific western newspaper and one specific African country. The method was useful in measuring the samples of the periods selected in the Congolese history and in being able to identify sources of the news items including stereotypes gathered in the language used in the news texts analysed.

### ***Weaknesses and limitations***

Content analysis like any other research methods has weaknesses and limitations which is why in this study it is combined with discourse analysis to strengthen it and to better analyse texts found in *The Times* newspaper's coverage of the Congo. A



major limitation is that it focuses on *what is manifest*, overt in media texts, and which can be counted. In this sense it is not fully complete as the implicit or innate messages in the texts are not identifiable merely through counting what is there. Using content analysis is insufficient in the interpretation of meaning, often relying on limited, observable categories. While efforts to ensure the reliability of what is counted, often there is the problem of counting the same phenomena. The interpretation of the meaning of texts analysed would not be accurate by only using content analysis. For example the Glasgow Media Group by using content analysis have identified deep seated and systematic biases against working class people in the news content as well as bias in favour of a patriarchal system (Bertrand & Hughes 2005:184-185). Textual analysis is concerned with the surface and explicit meaning of news content as well as underlying connotative meanings. When the analysis is concerned with how meaning is constructed in the process of production, it becomes a discourse analysis (Ibid).

According to Hansen et al (1988:95), much of the controversy over content analysis has focused on the objectivity requirement arguing fundamentally that objectivity in content analysis 'as in any other kind of scientific research is an impossible ideal serving only to cover cosmetically and mystify the values, interests, and means of knowledge production which underpin such research therefore content analysis could never' be objective in a value-free sense of the word: it does not analyse everything there is to analyse in a text (no method could, nor would there be any purpose in trying). The content analyst starts instead by delineating certain dimensions or aspects of texts for analysis. In doing so, the researcher using this research design is making a subjective choice, generally informed by the theoretical framework and ideals that shape his/her research. Indicating the dimensions chosen for analysis or significant aspects to look at is the important. The criticism of the positivist 'objectivity' criteria is by now both well-rehearsed and generally accepted, and it is indeed possible that the strictly positivist 'value free' notion of objectivity was never what was intended in the first place in the definitions of the requirements of content analysis. Thus, it is perhaps symptomatic that later definitions of content analysis have omitted references to 'objectivity', requiring simply that content

analysis be 'systematic' (Hansen et al 1988:95, see also Holsti 1969, Krippendorf 1980).

Some examples of content analysis have been criticised for confining themselves to 'meaningless' counting. Moreover, and in contrast to many 'qualitative'/ interpretative approaches, content analysis, because it follows clearly articulated rules and procedures, lays open scrutiny to the means by which textual meaning is dissected and examined. Much of the criticism which has been directed at content analysis touches on problems more to do with the potential and actual (mis)-uses and abuses of the method rather than to do with any inherent weaknesses of this as a method of data-collection (Bertrand & Hughes 2005:184). A content analysis which confines itself to counting the number of times a word or a title appears would fail singularly to capture the meaning or significance of the texts analysed. Repetition or occurrence gives no knowledge of the significance of what is being repeated. With content analysis only it is hard to be certain that the samples studied are representative, particularly when the total extent of the phenomenon is not known (for instance, the complete range of all television news broadcasts, etc.). Content analysis results do not tell how the content came to be that way (Ibid).

#### ***4.2. Discourse analysis***

To better examine and analyse the texts found in *The Times*, this study used discourse analysis alongside content analysis. Content analysis was useful to identify the occurrence and recurrence of topics, themes, words and concepts. It was supplemented by discourse analysis to excavate the latent meaning around representation and stereotypes in the coverage. Words such as natives, powers, slavery, savage, negroes, violence, conflicts, civil wars, tribal wars, corruptions, civilisation, evangelisation, justice, peace, rebellions, white man, black man, dangerous destination, spreading disease, dark continent, poverty, witchcraft, Western intervention, UN intervention and unrest were repeatedly used in *The Times* to reporting the Congo and its peoples. The language used by the authors and correspondents in the news items can be classified as discourses of meaning. The

use of descriptions of groups, peoples and places and the interpretations that were attributed to them by the authors, correspondents and others who used them is significant in the construction of meaning. They in particular assist us to identify stereotyping in the media. For O'Sullivan and Jewkes (1997:73) 'media stereotypes occur when the roles, behaviour or personal characteristics of a particular groups or community of people are portrayed in a particular way'. As Schiffren et al (2003) attest, there is a sustained history of investigation into stereotypes - particularly using discourse analysis to specifically record the incidence of repetition and use of stereotyping labels. Paltridge says that 'such repetition reinforces social inequalities and naturalises dominant labels' - and thus ways of thinking about 'in' and 'out' groups (Paltridge 2006: 182; see also Hinton 2000).

Discourse analysis has been used over the years by many researchers to analyse varieties of data making it a popular, qualitative method of data analysis for linguistics and social scientists alike. Discourse analysis has also been widely used to examine a variety of data such as formal academic journal writing, newspaper reports and media interviews, and accounts of journalists and politicians during a political controversy (Paltridge 2006: 182). Conventionalised patterns of language, constructed by characteristic stylistic features, help to construct such accessible 'stand-alone approach as critical analysis' (Ibid: 133). There are many different approaches to discourse analysis such as critical analysis, cultural analysis, conversation analysis, discursive analysis, and discursive psychology, to name only a few. Discourse refers to 'language in use, as a process that is socially situated. It is the constructive, dynamic role of either spoken or written discourse in structuring areas of knowledge and the social and institutional practices which are associated with them' (Foucault 1972 in Jaworski & Coupland 2006:2, see also Candlin 1997). In this sense, discourse is a means of talking and writing about and acting upon words, a means which both constructs and is constructed by a set of social practices and within these words, and in so doing both, it reproduces and constructs afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more macro movements in the overarching social formation (Ibid).

Fairclough (1989:3-8) defines discourse as ‘an element of social life that is closely interconnected with other elements, thus discourse analysis (unlike other research designs) is of a great value because texts as elements of social events have causal effects, they bring about change. Most immediately, texts bring changes in people’s knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values and so forth to long-term causal effects. This is one of the reasons why this study chose to combine content analysis with discourse analysis to examine texts of the news items found in *The Times* coverage of the Congo.

Discourse analysis accordingly helped this research to make comments on the sampled texts of the news items that were found in *The Times*. The focus on language in its own right enabled us to provide a deeper analysis of the language and to verify any stereotyping within the coverage of the Congo in the media. However, in this study there was a problem in comparing the use of language over time. News and editorial texts written in the 19<sup>th</sup> century have to be analysed and examined at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which made it difficult to reconstruct and understand what it meant.

This is the reason why Deacon et al (2005:191-2) argue that ‘when the researcher uses discourse analysis’ to analyse media texts ‘the past is never past and long conventionality is a product of time in its gradual development, acquiring certain longer-term characteristics and meanings that are part of a more general media history, regardless of the time when texts are examined’.

#### **4.3. *The Sample***

In this study, the sample texts have been drawn from four periods: 1885, 1908, 1960 and 2006. These represented significant crossroads in the history of the Congo: the foundation of the country in 1885; its annexation to Belgium in 1908; its independence in 1960 from the Belgians and its first democratic elections, which took in 2006. The researcher initially had hoped to examine more periods but the sheer volume of data produced made this impossible; hence the selection of key



*exemplar* years. The years selected were not only identified on the basis of key turning points in history but they also represent distinct eras in the country's development: the *pre-colonial* period locates the country in a time when intervention from outside began, initially as we have seen as the personal fiefdom of one man, King Leopold II of the Belgians. In this period African culture existed to be 'discovered by Europeans; the *colonial* period represents the time when the people of what was constituted by Europeans as the Congo came together under the colonial rule of Belgium, independence came in the wake of the struggles of the 1950's issuing in a period of *post-colonialism*. It was not until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century that true freedom arrived in the country, when the first free and fair elections were held in the period of *reparation*. Looking at the history of the Congo and its representation during these historical periods is argued to allow the making of broad historical judgements about the reporting of the country during key periods of its development. These selections are therefore key periods in the history of the Congo and are representative in the development of African societies which may have been missed if a random sampling system had been used to choose years.

The decision to choose a British newspaper was determined by expediency as much as calculation. Initially, it was hoped to compare and contrast a Belgian and British newspaper. This was defeated by the problems of finance and of accessing material in the same years. It was thus decided to concentrate on the British press due to its accessibility and global reach throughout the history of the Congo. Which newspaper to select posed a problem; to select one paper over another could be perceived as subjective. However, the practicalities of accessing back copies of a newspaper in the nineteenth century were also significant. The latter point was as important as any other in deciding to focus on *The Times*. It was straightforward to collect texts from the Digital Archives of *The Times* which are available in Swansea University library, enabling the researcher to go back to microfilm to collect back issues of the paper, print them out, then code and analyse them.

However, there were other reasons why selecting this newspaper made sense. *The Times* of London was not only a newspaper of record but had been one of the leading newspapers in the world. Its foreign news gathering operation was the envy

of international journalism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The exploration of Africa, including Stanley's expedition to the Congo is closely identified with the paper. Explorers and the Royal Geographic Society made use of the paper's columns to announce and provide details of their sponsored expeditions. The newspaper was also closely connected with imperial expansion, not only as a supporter of the British Empire but an advocate of imperial ideals and policies.

The original intention was to focus on news stories. Such analysis usually concentrates on news texts, though the historical dimension to the study made this far from straightforward. Distinguishing news texts in the nineteenth century press was sometimes problematic. Anonymous by-lines and a reliance on personal accounts, opinions or correspondence made the columns of the late Victorian press more fluid than today's newspapers. It was thus decided to include editorial and correspondence as well as news texts in the sample. Editorials and comment in the nineteenth century *Times* specifically addressed the newspapers stance on the issues of the day and provide a context to the news of the day. Much of the political opinion on the news stories in the paper was expressed through letters to the editor. Examining other kinds of content was considered to produce a broader cultural representation of the Congo in the newspaper. Thus, other kinds of content, such as advertising, cartoons, and perhaps books, theatre material, music, arts and cinema reviews could have been examined. But again this was not deemed practical or necessarily central to a study principally interested in the operation of news and factors governing the production of news.

#### ***4.4. Problems in Gathering Data***

The reason to separately analyse each one of these four historical periods of the Congo as a nation was to identify any disjunctures in the coverage of the country by Westerners (Europeans and Northern Americans) in the *Pre-Colonial*, *Colonial*, *Post-Colonial* and the *Modern* Congo. Finding the Congo in the British National Archives was a challenge as the Congo as a country has had five different names in the past; the Congo Free State, Belgian Congo, Republic of Congo, Zaire and the

current Democratic Republic Congo. This made it complex and hard to search for the Congo as I had to search under all these five names each time I logged in, only to realise that the other names of the country were not recognised as the British system and national libraries classify the two Congos, which are two different countries, as one Congo only. The only way to find the D. R. Congo was to use the key word for Congo which brought up the two Congos at the same time (the French Congo which is currently called Congo Brazzaville and the Belgian Congo which is the current D.R. Congo) then about 300 or more news stories would come up randomly on the computer. It was my responsibility to keenly go through each of the stories and separate them for all the sampled periods.

For the modern Congo, I had to use microfilm and news bank archives from the British National libraries. There was a warning in bold letters on the first page of each microfilm saying: **‘This microfilm is produced in accordance with national standards for quality. Due to the problems inherent in newspapers, some loss of legibility may occur. The following newspaper is the best copy available’**. I also searched through news banks to check if it has news articles that could not be found in the Microfilm and Digital archives and found some other articles.

It is important to note that some of the news articles and commentaries in the British national archives were not visible because they were too old. The archives only had stories from 1885 to 1985. the challenge in gathering data for the current modern Congo (2006) was partly because the microfilm used to access *The Times* newspapers seemed to have been poorly maintained and also because not many people use them. I had to estimate the content of some of the commentaries and news articles, as it was not always possible to tell the page numbers of the news and commentaries articles simply because they were not readable. I had to make a decision and use common sense to guess and interpret some texts that were not visible or simply missing in the archives, microfilm and news banks from all the British national libraries. Also in some circumstances, librarians were not patient, friendly or helpful. Other librarians did not have a clue about the information I was looking for and were indifferent each time I needed assistance from them.

#### 4.5. Coding

Constructing a formal coding system for the analysis and coding or classification of content are two dimensions of the same 'step' in content analysis. Once the categories have been chosen and defined, they need to be set out in a codable form before the content proceeding with the rest of the research (Hansen et al 1988:116).

After gathering, counting and carefully analysing the sample over the period selected for this study, I conceived my own coding system to explain texts that contained the first initial letter of *The Times* newspapers 'T', the historic period of the Democratic Republic Congo and the year classifying the text accordingly such as 'T-PR-COL-CO 1885', which stands for *The Times* in Pre-Colonial Congo', when the Congo was run by King Leopold II of the Belgians as a private business that was controlled by Britain, Germany and the United States of America. 'T-COL-CO 1908' stands for *The Times* in the Colonial Congo which was the period when the Congo was handed over to the Belgian government by the King under pressure from Britain and the United States. 'T-POST-COL-CO' which stands for *The Times* in the Post-Colonial Congo, the period of independence following Belgian rule. T-MOD-CO stands for *The Times* coverage of current modern Congo. Com/or N/ stands for commentaries (COM) or news (N) to distinguish the two in the coding system and finally the year of the publication (1885, 1908, 1960, and 2006) as there must be uniformity in the coding as mentioned earlier by Wimmer and Dominick (1988: 135). The date of publication, the source - name of the authors – where given, and this study said 'anonymous/unnamed author'. The names of those directly quoted in the news stories or opinion commentaries are cited, dividing the sources between official and non-official sources, western and non-western/African. Each news item was also numbered accordingly and coded as in constant analysis meanings are coded in signs and can also be decoded accordingly (Ibid).

The articles and commentaries (including editorials and letters) were divided into news stories, and opinions expressed in letters and editorials. The total number of articles examined was 391. This included commentaries which had 20 editorials and 15 letters while the news stories were 356. The breakdown was 30 items for Pre-



Colonial Congo (1885) which was made up of six letters and 24 news stories. The Colonial Congo (1908) had 112, which included 12 commentaries and 100 news stories. The Post-Colonial Congo (1960) had 213 items, including 17 commentaries, and the Modern Congo (2006) only had 38 news articles - all news stories with no commentaries. Within each of these periods the sample was subjected to a quantitative and qualitative examination. The topics of the stories and commentaries were itemised, as well as the author of the text recorded and the sources used to construct the text.

#### **4.6. Categorisation**

The coding developed was used to number and categorise according to the content of the message in each text found of *The Times* newspaper's coverage of the Congo. The categorisation was developed to break down stories into their type or theme, author and sources cited within the news and commentary texts. In addition, particular stereotypes were identified from the previous research into the representations of Africa in the news media, as was the language used in each news and commentary text. I used these categories and codes to interpret and classify each of the four periods identified in the historical sample. Discourse analysis was used to explore certain texts within each period to examine the nature of the construction of news stories and editorials with a view of comparing and contrasting them across the sample. Each text of the articles from the 391 archived copies of *The Times* was categorised according to quantitative categories. The theme(s) of the article; the author and the range of sources cited were counted. For each of these topics several categories were identified.

**Themes:** National politics, international politics, justice, business and exploration.

**Authors:** Names, *The Times* correspondents, anonymous, news agencies correspondents, other foreign journalists, explorers, officials and others.

**Sources:** Belgian politicians, Belgian businessmen, other European politicians, other European businessmen, US politicians, US businessmen, missionaries, Congolese politicians, other Congolese, other Africans, United Nations officials, other

international officials, non-government agents, explorers, European tourists and others.

The qualitative analysis depended on identifying stereotypes in each period of study. Each historic period had its own stereotypes but from the point of view of examining representation the recurrence of certain stereotypes was counted. The key stereotypes identified for comparison were as follows:

- Backward/barbaric/primitive/child-like
- War torn/conflict/coups/unstable/post-election unrest/violence
- Poverty/famine/refugees/helpless
- Spreading disease/human disaster/poor infrastructure
- Corruption/vote rigging/insecurity/politically unstable
- Black/dark/tribalism/witchcraft
- Dependency/UN intervention/European Union intervention

The stereotypes identified above were drawn from the literature. They were examined and compared between each selected period of the Congolese historical formation to identify similarities and differences. The categories examined negative representations of the Congo and the Congolese people, where positive images were found they were categorised. The differentiation of positive and negative is not straightforward. Much of the academic literature has focussed on negative stereotyping and representation (see Chapter 3). In addition, certain stories within each period were subject to closer analysis using discourse analysis as well as one kind of story which appeared in every era.

Textual analysis involved identifying the kinds of historical and contemporary discourses and genres that texts draw on and the effects of this intertextuality. It also indicates the resources that writers and readers draw upon in the production and interpretation of texts. Therefore simultaneously with a systematic textual analysis, it is necessary to examine how meaning is generated by the interaction between text and reader. To describe these meanings, the analysis took into account the socio-

cognitive representations which writers and readers, through their interactions with previous and contemporary discourses within their particular society had experienced. An analysis of the social context involved answering two fundamental questions: what made this discourse possible and what are their social functions? To do this, the ideological construction of texts and discourses needs to be explained at the situational, institutional and societal levels. This entails making explicit how discourses were determined by social structures and relations of power including how text production and interpretation, such as the production of news texts and their consumption, were dictated by social and institutional constraints and habits that were often not apparent in *The Times* coverage of the Congo (Fairclough 1989). Finally, an analysis of the societal context means exploring how discourses play a major role in struggles for power taking place within society. The emphasis on textual analysis was important particularly where a discourse was completely naturalised, because it enabled the researcher to reveal the hidden patterns of form and meaning which demonstrated the ideologies inherent in the textual discourse. The newspaper represents different political and ideological perspectives within British society (Hartmann & Husband 1974:105), their differing 'public idioms' (Hall 1978:61). The representations indicate the extent to which there is a stereotypical, naturalised and dominant discourse on Africa. An analysis of the news texts reveals the following stereotypical frames, scripts and situation models associated with the main subject reported on in conjunction with Africa, that of civil war.<sup>10</sup>

Civil war in Africa involves fierce, tribally-based fighting, excessive, uncontrollable and indiscriminate violence, terrible atrocities and other human rights abuses, large numbers of deaths, large scale destruction and anarchy. The two sides in the conflict commit atrocities, lack discipline, are all costs, are reluctant to negotiate, are corrupt and opportunistic, ask for Western aid and military assistance and only make gestures towards peace and democracy in the hope of gaining this assistance or when under military pressure in the hope of gaining this assistance or

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<sup>10</sup>Suit, Tie and the Touch of Juju at: <http://das.sagepub.com/content/6/4/461>; accessed October 10, 2011, p.498

when under military pressure. However, the supply of western food aid is often prevented by civil war and siphoned off by corrupt African officials. Aid to Africa is also generally questioned because of human rights abuses, corruption and lack of political reform. Ordinary civilians get killed, displaced or hope for western political reform. Westerners are in danger and are told to leave, or are evacuated. Westerners also remain at their jobs, even when in danger, and their individual feelings and views on the situation are reported. Peace talks are initiated by an outside party or brokered by the church, but they usually fail because neither side will compromise, nor because one side has the upper hand hopes to win militarily.<sup>11</sup>

### *Summary*

The chapter has described and discussed the methodology used to select, categorise and count the news and editorial items from the London *Times* coverage of the Congo 1885-2006. The decision to choose The London *Times* was not only based on its international reputation and for being the British newspaper of record but also it was due to its accessibility and global reach throughout the history of the Congo. Content analysis was used to identify and quantify media texts throughout the years selected which included the Pre-Colonial Congo (1885), Colonial Congo (1908), Post-Colonial Congo (1960) and Modern Congo (2006). Discourse analysis was useful to comment upon and interpret media texts in the sampled periods of the history of the Congo while addressing the research questions which were to find out the changing representations of the Congo, the themes, authors, sources and stereotypes identified in *The Times* coverage. The chapter explained that the sampled periods selected represented the key crossroad in the development of the Congo as a country. 1885 was the creation of the country at the Berlin Conference; 1908 was the year the Congo was annexed to Belgium; 1960 was its independence from colonial rule and in 2006 the country held its first fully democratic elections since its creation. The problems encountered during data gathering in British national libraries were

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<sup>11</sup>Suit, Tie and the Touch of Juju at <http://das.sagepub.com/content/6/4/461>; accessed October 10, 2011, pp.462-8.

outlined. For example, the problem of finding items of the Congo was accentuated not only because the Congo has had five different names but also because there are two different countries in the same region of central Africa with the same name Congo. Editorials, letters, and news articles for the selected years in the history of the Congo were coded accordingly while themes, authors and sources were identified. Stereotypes and images of Africa were taken from the research literature on western media coverage of the continent to examine and compare the coverage in each of the selected years, the similarities and differences.

## **Chapter Five: Images of the Congo in *The Times* 1885-2006**

### ***Introduction***

To address the research main question which was to investigate the changing representations of the Congo while identifying the emerging themes, the authors of commentaries and news articles, the primary sources and images of the country and its peoples in The London *Times* coverage, this chapter presents the findings from editorials, letters, and news articles that were published in four specific periods selected for this study which are as follows:

- 1885, the year of the creation and ‘imagination’ of Africa by the western powers at the Berlin Conference;
- 1908, the year of the annexation of the Congo to Belgian’s administration;
- 1960, the year of independence for the Congo from Belgium administration, and,
- 2006, which was the year of the first free election since the creation of the Congo.

This analysis is presented according to the four periods of study and a comparison is made between the periods to ascertain the historical evolution of the country’s representation in the newspaper. Within each period the number of articles that were published, their themes, their authors and the sources used are explored. The stereotypes that appear in texts of the stories are examined. The findings are presented in the form of quotes and tables to illustrate the nature of the coverage within each period and how it has changed over time.

### 5.1. *The Times* and Pre-Colonial Congo

This period is, as mentioned in a previous chapter, significant in Congolese history because it was in this year that the Berlin Conference took place and officially gave authority to Western powers to divide and rule Africa, excluding the native population from the process. There were 30 articles published in total throughout this period. The reporting of the events of this year in *The Times* is divided into commentaries which, in this period, included letters only with no editorials or news articles.

#### *Commentaries*

There is a distinction to be made between different kinds of commentaries that appear in newspapers such as letters, editorials and opinion pieces. The commentaries in 1885 were concerned with correspondence which helps to provide an indication of the nature of the discussion in *The Times* about the Congo in this period. It assists us to understand the perspectives of Westerners when the Western powers were occupied with the division of Africa. There were six letters, all of which were written by Westerners but one which was identified as having been written by [a National African]<sup>12</sup> (see Table 1).

**Table 1: Pre-colonial letters**

Mr Alfred H. Baynes	1
Mr Edward Marston	1
Mr Henry M. Stanley	1
Mr James F. Hutton	1
National African	1
Mr Robert Capper	1

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<sup>12</sup> National African is the original version from *The Times* which was not clearly defined and the author decided to keep it as it is.

The six letters were concerned with matters of business and exploration. Three of the letters refer to business opportunities in the Congo while the other three refer to reports of the exploration of the newly found country. A variety of different kinds of actors are cited in *The Times* commentaries including Mr Arthington, the Baptist Missionary Society, Batwa Dwaris natives, Mr Baynes, British merchants, Mr Hutton, Livingstone Congo Inland Missionaries, Lord Granville, The King Leopold II of the Belgians, Lulongo Slaves and Ivory dealers, Maringa natives, Mr Marston, Reverend Georges Grenfell, the Roman Catholic Missionaries, the Principal Secretary of State and Mr H. M. Stanley (see Table 4).

**Table 2: Post-Colonial Commentaries Actors cited**

Mr Arthington (British)	1
Baptist Missionary Society	1
Batwa Dwaris Natives	1
Mr Baynes (British)	1
British Merchants	1
Mr Hutton (British)	1
Livingstone Congo Inland Missionaries	1
Lord Granville	1
King Leopold II of the Belgians	1
Lulongo Slaves & Ivory Dealers	1
Maringa Native peoples	1
Mr Marston (British)	1
Rev George Grenfell (British)	1
Roman Catholic Missionaries	1
Principal Secretary of State	1
Henry M. Stanley (British-American)	3

The actors cited in the letters are dominated by Westerners apart from a few Congolese natives such as Batwa Dwaris, Maringa and Lulongo tribes who write about their Congolese experiences. For example,



The commercial freedom of the Congo is for all time ... goods to be imported into these territories are to remain free from import and transit dues ... the powers reserve to themselves to decide ... (James F. Hutton, letter to the *The Times*, January 20, 1885, p.8).

The Congo state is characterised as one vast swindle ... men are dying off like rotten sheep, it is awful... People go to the Congo mainly for business and commercial purposes ... (quoted by Edward Marston in the letter to the editor of *The Times*, August 21, 1885, p.10).

Different views of the business opportunities presented in the Congo are expressed. Much of the debate on the country and its opportunities revolve around the remarks of Henry Morton Stanley who wrote a letter and is also regularly referred to in correspondence from Alfred Baynes, Robert Capper and Edward Marston. Stanley's role and his attitudes to the country are controversial. Marston and Capper were British explorers responding to Stanley statements in the American press about the state of the Congo. He describes the Congo and central Africa as a dangerous destination for Westerners because of its climate and the poor conditions. Stanley appeared to be warning against anyone wishing to travel to central Africa:

Letter to the Editor, Sir the American newspapers have been lately agitated by terrible report contained in one of them from a correspondent resident on the Congo, by whom Mr Stanley is roundly accused of 'shrouding the administration in mystery' to Congo State (by stating) that the Congo is characterised as one vast swindle, everything is said to be bad only one doctor left and his duties comprise as an area of 300 to 600 miles, the medicine is bad, the provisions worse 'men are dying off like rotten sheep it is awful 'my health is very bad, I am at present laid up which ulcers, curse the county and its.... I make no pretence of defending Mr Stanley against such attacks....no one reading his last work can fail to have observed that he devotes very considerable space to the discussion of this very question of salubrity and the proper way for Europeans to live on the Congo and he clearly warns them of the evils to be expected by infraction of the plain advice his long experience has

enabled him to ... He has always represented it as being at least as healthy as any of the Southern States of America and he unhesitatingly asserts that, given a railway and the usual wholesome diet to which a European has been accustomed, he may travel over the whole of the Congo Basin as often as he may please without the least fear of fever or sickness of any kind ...

As the correspondence I have referred to emanates from an evidently unhealthy and bitterly disappointed man, and as his sensational vituperation has been heralded by sensational leaders wherever American papers circulate, perhaps you will kindly permit me to exhibit another view of the matter by a few short extracts from a private letter from the Congo, written without any knowledge of the correspondence I have referred to above, and indeed long before it could possibly have reached the writer, but I may add that, by a very remarkable coincidence, it comes from a subordinate of the very man who wrote the violent letters above mentioned. ... (Edward Marston, letter to the editor of *The Times*, May 21, 1885, p.5)

Robert Capper from Swansea in South Wales also wrote to challenge Stanley's description of the Congo. They argued that the Congo and central Africa in general was not a dangerous place as Stanley claimed it to be. They said everyone could survive and live in the Congo regardless of the race and ethnic background.

Sir, Mr Marston's healthy letter in *The Times* of Friday upon the salubrity of the Congo Basin should do some good. His Lukunga correspondent more truly represents the actual state of affairs than the American newspaper correspondent....When I was in the Congo I met a good many Europeans who had lived there for 25 years at a stretch without any change of scene or climate, and I believe they are still living there, though it is now some 13 years since I conversed with them. In my experience I soon found what is common enough all over the world, that to keep one's health a man must first seek to know himself and then be true to himself....I pointed out to the fact that the three Englishmen with me and I had collectively spent 100 years in Western and South West Africa and healthier specimens of men could not be found in all London. I can sum up the whole matter of healthiness in the fact that the premium charged me by the best life insurance offices on my life is the same as if

I had never been out of England at all ... For the sake of the many who have sons out in Africa, perhaps you may think, Sir, I should not keep my mouth shut, but state this much. I am sir your obedient servant (*The Times*, August 27, 1885, p.9).

The Congo is described as a peaceful place where Westerners felt at home despite the lack of health facilities, medical doctors and other Western comforts such as good housing and clean tap water during this period.

All the years I was in the Congo and its districts, we never had doctors nor missionaries, yet I never lost one of the many young gentlemen sent out to me ...They were greatly benefited by the open air regular life (*The Times*, August 27, 1885, p.9)

The concern is about the way in which Stanley's representation of the Congo may have shaped people's perceptions of Central Africa in Britain and America. Stanley was a highly trusted and respected source of information. He was the man who has 'discovered' much of the Congo. His pronouncements, articles and correspondence led many in the West to believe the Congo was a dangerous place to visit. There is an argument that he was trying to discourage people from travelling as a means of protecting his commercial interests and those of his backers and supporters. The role of the American press in the reproduction of Stanley's remarks can be seen as giving credence to this. Stanley views were not challenged until explorers such as Robert Capper wrote to *The Times* to oppose his representation of the Congo and Central Africa. However, they were all discussing the position of Westerners or whites as Stanley regularly referred to them ignoring the native peoples. They tended to be portrayed as primitive, backward, barbaric and savage. A letter published in December 1885 from a missionary, Alfred Henry Baynes, who was the general secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society in London who had addressed the 'Movement Geographique<sup>13</sup> in Brussels refers to the Congolese as 'wild' and hostile to evangelisation. He wrote:

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<sup>13</sup> The French version of Geographic Movement which was an organisation based in Brussels to study locations in Central and West Africa (see *The Times*; December 24; 1885.

We were well received everywhere when people who are not so frightened as to run away. We found the population gathered round three principal centres, separated from each other by long stretches of uninhabited land ... many of their villages resemble those of old lake dwellers, the houses being raised on posts... our way was barred by grass and fallen trees and we had to return ... people were exceedingly friendly and most anxious for us to return.... Coming down to Lulongo again....we had to go very cautiously for the people were very wild...we were able by patiently waiting to overcome their hostility ...we did not mind their shootings at us as long as the river was wide enough for us to keep out of range, but at last it became too narrow, and one evening we found ourselves whose long iron-headed arrows... We several times encountered the Batwa dwarfs of whom Mr Stanley spoke in his 'Through the Dark Continent' (*The Times*, December 24, 1885, p.10).

The correspondence in the letters columns of 1885 represented the Congo as a potentially dangerous place but one that offered huge business and commercial opportunities for Westerners.

For 50 years we have had absolutely free trade on the Congo and we have prayed in vain to be left alone ... to maintain that freedom which has hitherto been enjoyed. For the past 30 years her Majesty's government has insisted over and over again with Portugal, and even under threats of using the forces of Great Britain that the interest of commerce imperatively require it to maintain the right of unrestricted intercourse with that part of west Coast of Africa....the critical position of this new Free State which is being founded in Africa by the king of the Belgians is owing to its present jurisdiction on the Congo being inland, and to the rights it possesses on the sea coast to the North of the Congo being coveted by France. It has as yet no possessions at the mouth of the Congo which is still absolutely free but there its very existence is now threatened by Portugal. Therefore there appears to be only one peaceable solution of the present difficulty which can maintain in perpetuity the freedom of the commerce of the Congo and which will induce capitalists and merchants to invest in the construction of

railways and in opening the trade and that solution advocated and urged upon her Majesty's Government by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, namely that the entire jurisdiction of both banks of the Congo down to the sea coast , and the adjacent territory should be intrusted and secured in perpetuity to the Free and Independent Congo State now being founded in Africa by the King of the Belgian (*The Times*, January 20, 1885, p.8).

Stanley also explains that the construction of railways in the Congo was meant to support commercial activities to Westerners who went to the Congo during these early years of the Creation of the country.

When I wrote 'the Congo and the founding of its free State in the beginning of the year, I could estimate about 6,250 miles of uninterrupted navigation above Stanley pool ....You may now perceive by the above explanations that out of the £1,000,000 first issue, its prudence guide company, no more than £500,000 need to be called up, that is within the power of the company to remain satisfied with having reached Stanley Pool until time has developed the commerce to such an extent as will repay the outlay of an additional sum of, say, £ 275,000 and that the remaining £ 225,000 would be far more than required for an indefinite number of years building for an indefinite number of years for building steamers and depots on the upper Congo...Meanwhile I feel perfectly convinced that an economic railway as I have suggested above is easy of execution, and is an extremely remunerative enterprise... (*The Times*, December 28, 1885, p.6).

Two British explorers Capper and Marston challenged Henry Morton Stanley's portrayal of the region as a place where Westerners, or at least the majority of Westerners, could not survive because of hardship and hostile climate conditions. Congolese were primitive and hostile to anything unusual and different from themselves. This was the reason why they fought against Western presence.

### *News Stories*

There were 24 news stories published during 1885 of which 13 articles were on Politics and International Politics; nine on Business and Commerce and four on Exploration and Evangelisation (see Table 3).

**Table 3: Pre-colonial Themes**

Politics	13
Business	7
Exploration	4

The authors of the news articles were Westerners, politicians, explorers, missionaries such as Mr Amiral, Mr Edward Mallet, Rev JP Crown, Mr Henry Morton Stanley, and the Mayor of London City. Most of the by-lines were anonymous in keeping with the convention of the time, but there were reference to *The Times* correspondent and the Anglo-American cable (See table 4 for details).

**Table 4: Pre-colonial news by-lines**

<b>The <i>Times</i> Pre-Colonial News Authors/By-lines</b>	
Anonymous/unnamed authors	15
Mr Amiral/ The Governor of Angola	1
The Anglo-American Cable	1
Sir Edward Mallet	2
Rev JP Crown (Baptist Missionary Society)	1
Mr H. M. Stanley	1
The Mayor of London City	1
The <i>Times</i> Correspondent	2

The articles drawn from a variety of sources but those cited are exclusively westerners, mainly political, religious or business – such as Lord Alderman, the African Association, the American Berlin Conference delegates, the American Navy Department, the American president Mr Arthur, The Baptist Missionary Society, Mr Beernaert, the Belgian Chamber, Mr Benning, Captain Grant Elliot, Clement Markham, Colonel Sir Francis Wanton, the Commons of the city of London, Mr Henry Morton Stanley, Mr Hutton, Mr Ferry, the International Congo Association, the Congo International commission, General Sanford, the German Otto Von Bismarck, The Governor Amaral, Lord Granville, King Leopold II, Dr Oscar Lenz, Professor Emile de Laveleye, Rev JT Comber, Lieutenant Sims, The Royal Geographic Society and Sir Rowlinson (See Table 5).

**Table 5: Pre-Colonial News Sources**

Lord Alderman De Keyser (British)	1
The African Association	1
Mr Alfred H Baynes (Baptist Missionary)	3
The American Berlin Conference Delegates	1
The American House of Representatives	1
The American Navy Department	2
The American President Mr Arthur	2
The Baptist Missionary Society	1
Mr Beernaert ( Belgian)	1
The Belgian Chamber	1
Mr Benning ( Belgian)	1
Captain Grant Elliot ( British)	1
Mr Clement Markham ( British)	1
Colonel Francis Wanton (American)	1
The Commons of City of London	1
The Explorer Sims (American)	1
The explorer Von Francois (Belgian)	1
The Explorer Lieutenant Wissmann ( Belgian)	1
Mr Henry Morton Stanley( British American)	6
Mr Hutton (Manchester Chamber of Commerce)	2
Jules Ferry (The French Cabinet Council)	1
The International Congo Commission	3
The International Congo Association	2

The General Sanford (American)	1
The German Prince Bismarck (German)	1
The Governor of Angola Mr Amaral(Portuguese)	1
Lord Granville (British)	2
Mr Joseph Triton(Baptist Missionary Society)	2
King Leopold II, Sovereign of the Congo	7
Dr Oscar Lenz (Dutch explorer)	1
Professor Emile Leveleye of Liege (Belgian)	1
Rev JT Comber (British)	1
The Royal Geographic Society	1
Sir Rowlinson (British)	1

### *Politics*

The affiliation of the sources reflects the fact that the basic focus of the news reporting is on politics. There are 13 news items on politics mostly devoted to the creation of the Congo at the Berlin Conference. The stories centre on the division and partition of the country and the enactment of laws to run to newly created territory of the Congo Free State. The key Western political figures cited directly were Mr Benning, the leader of the Belgian delegates at the Berlin Conference, the German Prince Bismarck, King Leopold II of the Belgians who was appointed the sovereign of the Congo by the International Congo Association, the American president Charles Arthur, the American Delegates, the American Navy Department, Mr Beernaert, The Belgian Chamber, Sir Edward Mallet, Jules Ferry, the French Cabinet<sup>14</sup> Council at the Conference the British Politician Lord Alderman, Sir Rowlinson, the Commons of the city of London and the Belgian Professor Emile De Leveleye (see table 5). The Berlin correspondent emphasises the central feature of his coverage.

The Premier read a communication made by the King to the Ministry stating that the Government of the State created by the Congo Association had to be organised. The Berlin Conference had hailed this work with great

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<sup>14</sup> Ferry was the French prime minister and not the French Cabinet minister as it was written in *The Times* 1885 (this is from Wikipedia accessed in November 20, 2011)



sympathy, which was manifested on all sides. The king wished to proceed to complete the task in which he had engaged and would demand the necessary authorisation from the Chambers. Article 62 of the Constitution forbidding the king of the Belgians to accept the sovereignty of a foreign state without the permission of the Chambers made the situation clear. The State would be independent and neutral like Belgium there would be only a personal tie. This union would be advantageous to Belgium without imposing on her any charges. The welfare of Belgium was the main purpose of the King's life. The Premier explained that when the Congress voted paragraph 62 of the Constitution the Throne of Belgium was still vacant and certain apprehensions existed which were not applicable to the present case. By acceding to the proposition of the King the country had no Ministry believed that the king in this matter deserved much from the country, and he proposed the following resolution: The King authorised to be the chief of the State founded in Africa by the International Congo Association. The union between Belgium and the new State will be exclusively personal. (*The Times*, April 22, 1885, p.5).

...It is announced that the Congo Association will confine itself to the organisation of the New State. The German envoy at Brussels has in the name of Prince Bismarck, addressed a letter of thanks to Professor Emile de Laveleye of Liege for the memoir on the construction of a Congo Railway which the Belgian publicist had sent to the Berlin Conference. The letter says 'The resolution of the Conference and the territorial arrangements in connexion with the Lower Congo have favoured the establishment of the railways which is the subject of your studies... (*The Times*, March 14, 1885, p.5).

I have already conveyed to you by telegraph the details of the agreement between Portugal and the International Association by which the partition of the lower Congo is now definitely settled, but the above little map will enable your readers to realise the nature of this division ... (*The Times*, February 18; 1885, p.8).

The political manoeuvring of the Great Powers featured prominently in the reporting. Even though the United States of America was not directly involved in the

occupation of central Africa and the Congo, they sent warships and supported the countries that were directly involved such as Britain and Belgium.

The Navy Department has ordered the steamers Lancaster and Kearsarge of the European Squadron, to cruise on the West Coast of Africa in order to protect American interest ... that the United States Government is sending warships for interference in the affairs of the Congo (*The Times*, January 7, 1885, p. 5).

A resolution was introduced in the House of the Representatives ...the President Arthur to communicate to the House the reasons which occasioned the appointment of the United States delegates to the Berlin Conference, and whether their instructions contained any conditions or limitations as to the exercise of their authority as delegates or whether they have full power to act as American delegates.... And request the president's opinion as to whether the appearance of American delegates at the Congress does not stop the United States from denying the rightfulness of any future alliance which European rulers might make in order to set up on the African continent governments of such a form as they might see fit whenever occasion arises...' (*The Times*, January 6, 1885, p.5).

Much of the political coverage focussed on the arrangements for the establishment of the new State. Attention was paid to the body responsible for drafting laws and organising the judiciary system of the Congo, the African Association which brought together several of the powers that attended the Berlin Conference. For example:

In the Chamber today M. Beernaert explained at length the origin and result of the Berlin Conference....The Chamber unanimously adopted a proposal made by M. Thibaut to nominate a committee for presenting an address on the subject to the King. The committee is composed by three clericals and three liberals, and includes Mr Malou and Mr Frere Orban<sup>15</sup>. Public Opinion is general favourable to the acceptance of the sovereignty over the new State by the King of the

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<sup>15</sup> Mr Malou and Mr Frere Orban were both Prime Ministers of Belgium at different times (from Wikipedia accessed in December 20, 2011).

Belgians, great material advantages being expected to result to this country. (*The Times*, March 11, 1885, p.5).

The African Association will have the right to elaborate for the new State a body of laws and a system of administration assisted by sufficient staff, some judges, and a military force for the maintenance of public security...' (*The Times*, April 21, 1885, p.5).

The focus was on the nature of the new State with the King of the Belgians as the sovereign of the Congo in his personal capacity. The structure of the newly created state including its flag and constitution was drawn up in Berlin and Brussels by the Congo Association, a body run by King Leopold II. The nature of these peculiar arrangements was reported on numerous occasions including when the Lord Mayor of London visited Belgium.

A deputation comprising the Lord Mayor of London and others was received this morning by the King Leopold, to whom they presented the congratulatory address composed by Mr Alderman de Keyser, on the recognition by the Powers of the new Congo State.... The King Leopold replied: I sincerely thank the Lord Mayor and Council for the great mark of sympathy shown to me by the amiable address of welcome to the Independent Congo State. I am deeply conscious of the flattering and encouraging character of the step they have taken. The Congo State had its origin in the desire for the cause of civilisation and commerce. The fundamental basis on which the new State has been founded is to grant freedom of import to all merchandise. 'The cataracts which intercept the free navigation of the Congo at Vivi and Stanley Pool are obstacles which industry must overcome. The route to be constructed will execute this work will necessarily prove to be remunerative. I hope in the interests of civilisation and commerce that this remark will strike capitalists and I am happy to have been able to call the attention of the Municipal Council of London, the greatest commercial city of the world to this point... (*The Times*, May 4, 1885, p.5)

*The Times* reported the King's vision for the Congo with the emphasis on the civilising mission and commercial benefits for his newly acquired State. These points

were re-iterated in the reporting of the Congo Association which readers are told was founded by His Majesty the King of the Belgians for the purpose of promoting the civilisation and commerce of Africa and for other humane and benevolent purposes. Details of the Association are outlined point by point below:

1. That by the treaties with the legitimate Sovereign in the basins of the Congo and of the Niadi Kwilu, and in adjacent territories upon the Atlantic, there has been ceded to its territory for the use and benefit of Free States established and being established in the said basins and adjacent territories.
2. That by virtue of the said treaties the administration of the interests of the said Free States is vested in the Association.
3. That the Association had adopted as its standard, and that of the Free States whom it represents, a blue flag with a golden star in the centre.
4. That with a view of enabling commerce to penetrate into equatorial Africa the Association and the said Free States has resolved to levy no customs duties upon goods or articles of merchandise imported into their territories or brought by the route which has been constructed around the cataracts of the Congo.
5. That the Association and the said Free States guarantee to foreigners in their territories the free exercise of their religion, the right of buying, selling, letting, and hiring lands, buildings, mines and forests, on the sole condition that they shall obey the laws.
6. That the Association and the said Free States will do all in their power to prevent the slave trade, and to suppress slavery (*The Times*, May 5, 1885, p.5).

The acceptance and approval from the British Government of these arrangements and conditions is reported.

The Government of her Britannic Majesty declare their sympathy with, and approval of, the humane and benevolent purposes of the Association, and hereby recognise the flag of the Association and of the Free States under its administration as the flag of a friendly Government. Sir Edward Mallet on Behalf of her Majesty's Government (*The Times*, May 5, 1885, p.5).

The personal nature of the structure of the Congo State, which made it peculiar in colonial terms, was critically mentioned in the coverage.

The creation of the new State of Congo by International Congo Association had to be organised ... The Berlin conference has hailed this work with great sympathy ... the union between the Congo and Belgium will be advantageous without imposing any charge on Belgium...The King nominated by the International Congo Association to be the Chief of the new State in Africa...the union between Congo and Belgium to be exclusively personal...'the bill was sent for examination to the committee. The principal journals of Brussels approve the Bill. The *etoile Belge*, however, deems it extraordinary that the Ministry should have prefaced its proposal of the Bill by the reading of a direct communication from the king (*The Times*, April 22, 1885, p.5).

*The Times* coverage stated unquestioningly the position of the Congo being the personal domain and fiefdom of King Leopold, whose motivations are explained in terms of his commitment to his people:

Between the Congo State and Belgium there would only be a personal tie. This union would be advantageous to Belgium without imposing on her any charges. The welfare of the Belgium was the main purpose of the King's life ...' (*The Times*, April 22, 1885, p.5).

*The Times* reported what Western countries and especially Britain wanted at the Conference and their expectations of the newly found State. In an example of what could be described as protocol news the newspaper reported:

The Government of her Britannic Majesty declare their sympathy with, and approval of, the humane and benevolent purpose of the Association, and hereby recognise the flag of the Association and of the Free States under its administration as the flag of a friendly Government. On behalf of her Majesty's Government (*The Times*, May 5, 1885, p.5).

The political stories in *The Times* in 1885 centred on the machinations around the Berlin conference and were dominated by accounts of the proceedings, the positions of the European powers and the negotiations that took place. Most of this was within a framework that was highly uncritical of the peculiar nature of the personal rule embedded in the establishment of the Free State. The only critical reporting was on Stanley's role but his was en passant and not central to the coverage.

### ***Business***

Of the seven news articles on business during this period, there is an overlap with the politics stories in terms of the sources directly cited. Mr Henry Morton Stanley, MP James Hutton who doubled up as Chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and King Leopold II appear in both categories. The focus is on the agreements that came out of the Berlin Conference. For example,

The Government of the Independent Congo State concluded yesterday an agreement with Mr H.M. Stanley and Mr James Hutton, MP, president of the Chamber of Commerce, Manchester and others acting on behalf of the Congo Railway Syndicate for the formation of a Company uniting the Lower with the Upper Congo. It is proposed that the company should raise a capital of from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 sterling, and be founded, under the auspices of the Congo Government, as a State railway with Royal charter of each of the 14 powers which took part in the Berlin Conference. The company is to be registered under the British law and London is to be the seat of administration (*The Times*, December 25, 1885, p.5).

*The Times* coverage carried reports of the possible business advantages for British companies and industries in the division of the Congo:

It is again asserted in various quarters that the chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce has come with Mr Stanley to Brussels and has been received by the King of the Belgians. English capitalists will furnish the money necessary for the construction of a railway in the new Congo State. It has to be repeated that the Belgian

Government has absolutely no connexion with the Congo State and no responsibility whatever for it. It is a somewhat curious fact that money for the undertaking in question should be sought, now by means of a lottery in France, now by means of interesting English Capitalists in it, while Belgium, proportionately the wealthiest country in Europe keep altogether aloof from what is represented as prospectively so remunerative an enterprise (*The Times*, December 24, 1885, p.5).

There is little or no reference to the native population or the country itself other than to emphasise that the Congo is a wealthy land and full of natural resources. For example:

The establishment has whole fleet of river schooners and cutters, and exports coffee, India rubber, copal, gum, earth nuts, and baobab leaves, used in the making of paper (*The Times*, October 30, 1885, p. 6).

The focus with a few exceptions was on the business interests of the King Leopold and his business associates in Europe mainly in Britain and in the United States of America. The King's commercial intentions and perceptions were clearly reported.

The Congo in central Africa was intended to create new openings for Belgian industry which undoubtedly would profit by them. Belgium is to find new elements for the development of her prosperity... (*The Times*, March 20, 1885, p.5).

It is proposed that the company should raise a capital of from 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 sterling, and be founded, under the auspices of the Congo Government, as a State railway with a Royal Charter of each of the 14 powers which took part in the Berlin Conference. The company is to be registered under the British law and London is to be the seat of administration...' (*The Times*, December 25, 1885 p.6).

Britain's involvement in the Congo is mainly reported by *The Times* in terms of business and profit. Contracts for providing the expertise and operating knowledge needed to build railways which would ease the flow of the commercial products from

the newly found territory were the basis for British business interests. These are duly reported by the newspaper.

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce in a letter addressed to Lord Granville on February 25, acknowledged the earnest efforts of her majesty's representatives in Berlin to maintain British Rights as well as free trade and navigation throughout the Congo basin as far as absence of import duties is concerned (*The Times*, March 2, 1885, p.8)

The stories make reference to a clear tie between commercial interests and the civilising mission concerning Britain's involvement. Here is the reporting of the appreciation of the City of London:

May it please your Majesty, we the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, beg leave to offer your Majesty our most respectful and earnest congratulations on the great work that you have performed in the interests of civilisation by the creation of the Congo Free State in the heart of the dark continent of Africa (*The Times*, May 5, 1885, p.5)

*The Times* provided factual coverage of the business expansion in the Congo, making a clear link between Western involvement in the country and the business interests of the great powers. The economic exploitation is apparent, with little or no examination of the impact on the local peoples. King Leopold II received considerable coverage with little criticism. Reports on his speeches were limited; approval from the British authorities was reported as were the thanks by church leaders to the King of the Belgians for his becoming the new Sovereign of the Congo. *The Times* also reported the speeches made by British authorities in Brussels when they went to endorse and to acknowledge the authority of the new man in power in the newly founded state in Africa - King Leopold II of the Belgians. For example:



Deeply interested as is the City of London in all that concerns the progress of religious, humane, and commercial principles, and in the suppression of slavery and the slave trade, we the Corporation of the City recognise in the enlightened, Philanthropic, and disinterested efforts of your Majesty, and the bloodless victory wrought thereby, a triumph far grander than the greatest achievements of the sword. In the introduction, establishment, and spread of education and industry, and in the founding of an organised and established authority, we see, under divine providence, the beneficent and unselfishness handiwork of your Majesty. Signed by order of the Council 'Guildhall, (*The Times*, May 5, 1885 p.6)

### ***Exploration***

The last category of news articles concerns different aspects of the process of exploration of the Congo and Central Africa. There were four news articles on this topic written by amongst others Stanley. Direct cited sources include the African Association, The Baptist Missionary Society, Mr Alfred Baynes, The American Colonel Francis Wanton, Mr Clement Markham, Dr Oscar Lenz, Mr Ferry, General Sanford, Colonel Von Francois, Lieutenant Sims and the Rev Comber of the Baptist missionary Society (see table 5). From *The Times* accounts exploration in this period is closely tied to business expansion, the spread of European civilisation and evangelisation. At the heart of this is the figure of Henry Morton Stanley who is considered as a hero in Western countries such as Britain and America.

Yesterday morning a public breakfast was given at the Cannon Street Hotel under the auspice of the Baptist Missionary Society for the purpose of meeting Mr Henry M. Stanley, the African explorer, and thanking him for his generous help in connexion with the Congo mission ... Mr Joseph Triton presided, and there was a large attendance of representatives of Missionary and philanthropic societies and the general public. Mr Alfred H. Baynes, the secretary, reported that letters expressing sympathy with the object of the gathering, but regretting inability with the object of the gathering in explaining the occasion said he might, without impropriety, in the

name of the commerce offer their acknowledgements to Mr Stanley for the new and vast channels he had opened for their merchandise. He might in the name of philanthropy refer to those efforts of Mr Stanley by which had been initiated measures for the freeing of the slave and the turning of barbarism who preyed on him into a man and a brother, and finally a Christian. And he might further into the name of the universal Church itself which had set its heart on the regeneration of Africa ... The benediction was pronounced by the Rev. J.P. Chows, and the proceedings terminated (*The Times*, May 29, 1885; p.5).

The process of exploration certainly appeared to hold the interest of the Victorian readers of *The Times*.

At the meeting of the Geographical Society in Vienna...Dr Lenz reports that he has had a safe journey, and he gives some interesting details about the Dutch establishment at Banana which he says possesses ten factories and employs 200 Europeans besides hundreds of natives. The establishment has a whole fleet of river Schooners and cutters and exports coffee, India rubber, tortoiseshell, copal, gum, earth nuts, and baobab leaves used in the making of paper. Dr Lenz fell in near Banana with two German explorers Drs Fugger and Chavan. The first was botanizing; the latter was making a cartographical survey (*The Times*, October 30, 1885, p.6)

According to the report by Lieutenant Weissman on his last exploration, the Lower Kassai constitutes a magnificent fluvial artery frequently of enormous breadth and leads without obstacle into the heart of the new Congo State....with a breadth of about 600 kilometres, is everywhere open for navigation. It runs through a country of wonderful fertility, presenting alternately plains and virgin forests, and inhabited by a dense population. With about one exception the travellers have been received everywhere with eagerness by peaceable tribes, all disposed to trade. During the 42 days employed in the voyage from Loulouabourg to Kwamouth the health of the expedition was excellent. There was no loss of life except that two natives were drowned in the rapids of the Louloua. The five white

men and the 200 Negroes of the expedition arrived all in good health at Leopoldville (*The Times*, October 6, 1885, p.6).

Since then Lieut. Weissman, Sims and von Francois by their exploration of the Ubangi, Lubiranzi, Itimbiri, Lulunga, and Uruki affluents, another 1,000 miles, so that we now have about 7,000 miles of navigable waters and 14,000 miles of river banks to exploit. But After the completion of the railway and the establishment of steam navigation on the Upper Congo and its effluents, the traffic has increased to such an extent as to warrant and necessitate further expenditure then the company may use the power and issue another £ 1,000000 for construction between the ports and landing place above the twin series of rapids and cataracts known as the Livingstone Falls (*The Times*, December 28, 1885, p.6).

Stanley's role in the business and commercial activities is as much as a part of the coverage as his deeds as an explorer.

The proposal for the construction of railway from Vivi to Stanley Pool, advocated by General Sanford on behalf of the African Association, is being again actively discussed, and it is not regarded as shelved. In fact, there is every prospect that it will eventually be received favourably by the powers. The view has gained ground that without providing for the means of transport into the interior the labours of the conference will have a very limited practical result. Mr Stanley has conclusively shown that, irrespective of its enormous commercial advantages, the railway will be the means of guaranteeing the safe arrival of new colonists in the interior, 50 per cent of who are now in. invalided on the journey between the above points before arriving at their destination. The title of High Protector of the Association is now given to the King of the Belgians (*The Times*, January 17, p.5).

*The Times* also reported the fact that Stanley's exploration revelations and writings did not have any scientific evidence as they were all based on his own imagination, personal agenda and the fame he sought from his Western audience who still saw him as a hero and the founder of the Congo:

A meeting of the Royal Geographical Society held on Monday night under the presidency of Sir Rawlinson in the theatre of the university of London, the Rev Comber read a paper of the Congo from Stanley Pool to Mangala ... Mr Clement Markham read the list of awards, the royal medal is to be given to MR Joseph Thomson in recognition of the great services he has rendered to geography by carrying out with admirable zeal, promptitude, and success the two expeditions into East Central Africa with which he was charged by the society...Mr Comber preface his notes of a five weeks trip in Congo...He has carried out a series of observations and promised a really scientific definition of the geography such as we had not yet had because Mr Stanley's old work was done mainly by dead reckoning and did not claim to have a high scientific character. Still Mr Stanley still deserved every credit as the first European who had come down the river from Nyangwe to the sea (*The Times*, April 15, 1885, p.4).

### ***The Times and pre-colonial stereotypes***

Certain themes appear in the representation of the Congo and its reporting in *The Times* in 1885. There is a general absence of reference to the native population. When they are mentioned the language is often as in racial terms: the local population is described as Negroes, black, wild and hostile. They are referred to as natives in a discourse that emphasises them as primitive and barbaric. This contrasts with the description of Westerners as 'white men' representing the 'great powers'. A few sentences illustrate some of the language and description used in *The Times* coverage of the Congo and its native peoples.

The five white men and the 200 Negroes of the expeditions arrived all in good health in Leopoldville on the 16th of July (*The Times*, October 6, 1885; p. 6).

The best men to stand the African climate must be fair-haired, thin skinned (*The Times*, August 27, 1885, p.9).

The Congo was referred to as a dangerous destination but also a wealthy area, a land of commercial opportunity on the 'Dark Continent' which was constructed as the

land of slavery where Westerners had to explore for business and trade expansion, and disseminate civilisation and evangelisation:

That the Association and the said Free State will do all in their power to prevent the slave trade and to suppress slavery (*The Times*, May 5, 1885, p.5).

The fundamental basis on which the new State has been founded is to grant freedom of import to all merchandise ... the interests of civilisation and commerce that this remark will strike capitalists (*The Times*, May 4, 1885, p.5)

Lord Alderman ... I greatly wish to see the Ivory of Central Africa to our Markets. Kindly offer my sincere thanks to the Municipal Council (*The Times*, May 5, 1885, p.6).

We several time encountered the Batwa Dwaris of whom Mr Stanley spoke in his 'Through the Dark Continent' (*The Times*, December 24, 1885, p.10).

The natives were also described to be friendly people but only when they were evangelised:

People were exceedingly friendly and most anxious for us to return (*The Times*, December 24, 1885, p.10).

The analysis and understanding of the texts in *The Times* coverage of the Congo made it apparent and clear that exploration, construction, trade, education, civilisation and evangelisation were closely linked together and were taking place at the same time in this period. The stereotypes found in *The Times* coverage of 1885 are summarised in table six below.

**Table 6: Pre-colonial Stereotypes**

Stereotypes 1885	Frequency	Percentage
Place for business	13	43.3%
Place to be developed	11	36.6%
The powers	8	26.6%
Natives to be civilised	6	20%
Dangerous destination	4	13.3%
Place to be explored	4	13.3%
Land of slavery	3	13.3%
Bush/Dark Continent	3	10 %
Friendly natives	3	10% <sup>16</sup>

The pre-colonial coverage of the Congo in *The Times* was dominated by a colonial discourse. This can be seen in several ways in the reporting. The crucial event of the year was the Berlin Conference, a key event in the colonial history of Africa, the reporting of which was dominated by the perspective of the Western participants. The powers who attended the conference, their views, opinions and statements were well reported. *The Times* coverage concentrated on the views of the Western great powers that were present of the Berlin Conference. King Leopold of the Belgians received considerable attention. There is a near exclusion of other voices, particularly indigenous voices. The commentaries and news stories in this sample were written by Westerners and from their perspectives, many wrote of their own African experiences in the Congo. There was little critical engagement with the form of colonial structure selected for the Congo although comments on the lack of reference to the native population were made.

The personal rule of the country by Leopold agreed at Berlin was not subject to any critical or oppositional comment at the time. The division of Africa at the Berlin Conference was not controversial. Reports of the business opportunities and prosperity of the Congo for the King Leopold II, his country Belgium and his Western business associated and the Congo were not countered in the reporting. In fact the opposite appears true as the King's statements that the Free State would

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<sup>16</sup> 10% (percent) of friendly natives to highlight the fact the that *The Times* coverage of 1885 was not all negative while referring to the natives. There were also good things said about the natives and the Congo Free State. See *The Times*, December 25, 1885, p.10

suppress slavery were accepted at face value. Many of the familiar stereotypical images associated with the Colonial era were apparent. The Congo was represented as an exotic place, a fertile land, full of natural resources which presented a business opportunity for the West. The primitive and backward nature of the people was incorporated in the reporting of the debate over the country as a dangerous place for Westerners. However, it is hot weather and the lack of medical facilities that are as much a threat as unfriendly natives. The native Congolese were referred to as Negroes, wild and hostile to be saved through civilisation which included evangelisation values and depicted them as people who could become pliant and friendly after being offered present.

### ***5.2. The Times and the Annexation of the Congo 1908***

More than two decades later and at another critical moment in the history of the Congo the amount of attention paid by *The Times* was considerably greater. In all 112 items were identified in the sample for this year; 100 news stories, 9 editorials and 3 letters. Western sources again accounted for the bulk of the stories. However, this time there was a noticeable difference as a debate over the treatment of the people of the Congo by Leopold's administration of the territory was carried out in the columns of the newspaper. Groups opposed to Leopold and the Congo Free State, the name given to Leopold's enterprise, featured in the coverage. The French League for the Protection of the Natives and the Congo Reform Association stood together to speak out for the Congolese people enslaved by the King Leopold's administration. The struggle for justice for the Congo and its native people differentiated the politics of Congo in 1908.

## Commentaries

The limited number of letters to the editor was a surprise given the nature of political debate over the Congo in 1908. Their writers were not a surprise: Anonymous authors, Britons Sheffield Neave and Ed. Morel (see table 7).

**Table 7: Colonial Commentaries (Editorials & Letters)**

Colonial Commentators/Authors/By-lines	
Anonymous authors	8
Mr E.D. Morel	3
Mr Sheffield Neave	1

As a leading light in the Congo Reform Movement Morel's campaigning inevitably included writing letters to newspapers. Morel, as we have discussed (see chapter one) documented and published the abuses he saw during his visits to the Congo. He collated accounts from those who had worked as Leopold's agents in the Congo-Free State and were concerned about injustices that had been committed in the territory. They were critical of Leopold's administration, his agents and business associates. *The Times* only reported the criticisms of Leopold's administration without including the criticism of Leopold personally. *The Times* also reported the fact that Belgian public and politicians had been forbidden to speak out openly against the Leopold II's regime within Belgium and in the Congo as anyone who spoke out openly about injustices perpetrated against the Congolese could be arrested and sacked from his post. This sensitivity had to be seen in the context of Belgian public and political opinion; there were many who were against Leopold II's regime. It was the fear of being prosecuted that prevented them from speaking out both in the Congo and back in Belgium. *The Times* reported a Deputy in Antwerp who was forced to resign from his job for simply mentioning that the King Leopold II enslaved the Congo and its people for his personal gains.



The subject of the Antwerp deputy referred to in yesterday's dispatch who had been caused to resign his directorship of a philanthropic institution for having in a speech to his constituents said that the Sovereign of the Congo had exploited the country like an unscrupulous capitalist was next discussed with much feeling ( *The Times*, April 25, 1908, p.7).

Morel's correspondence to *The Times* drew attention to the injustice perpetrated against the Congolese. The system of forced labour was criticised as were the abuse of human rights by Leopold's agents committed in the country during his regime.

What is called forced labour on the Congo is of two kinds: the recruitment by force of labourers for public works, or for such enterprises as, for example, the development of the kilo gold mines; the forced collection of rubber, copal, and foodstuffs under the name of a 'tax' in labour... the new administration must tend in the direction of doing away with forced labour (*Times*, September 16, 1908, p.8).

Morel was also highly critical of the political and administrative structure of the Congo Free State.

The Crown domain is a part of the Congo State that territory which the king secretly set aside in 1896 as his own personal possession, and from which he has drawn the revenues even since thus depriving the Congo state budget (*The Times*, February 10, 1908, p.14)

The eight editorials published in the sample this year all centred on the politics of annexation of the Congo to the Belgian administration. *The Times* had reported mainly the Anglo-Saxon powers<sup>17</sup> that included British and American Governments, the Congo Association Reform Movements in Britain and America, the church of England, philanthropic activists in Belgium, Britain, France and America advocating reforms internationally throughout this year to liberate the Congo Free State and its people from slavery and abuses of King Leopold II's rule. Direct cited sources in the

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<sup>17</sup> Anglo-Saxon powers in *The Times* meant Britain and the United States of America (See *The Times*, April 21, 1908, p.7).

commentaries this year were the Anglo-Saxon powers, Mr Beak, the Belgian Chamber, the Belgian Government, the British Government, the British public opinion, British politician Lord Crewe, Lord Cromer, Lord Fitzmaurice, the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs Sir Grey, the Congo Reform Association, Mr Ed Morel, Consul Mitchell, The dignitaries of the Church of England, the Belgian Premier Minister Mr Schollaert, the politicians such Mr Hymans, Mr Le Franc, the King Leopold II, the British Representatives of Philanthropic bodies and Mr Sheffield Neave ( See table 8)

**Table 8: Commentaries Sources Cited**

The Anglo Saxon Power(British & Americans)	1
Mr Beak (British)	1
The Belgian Chamber	2
The Belgian Government	1
The British Government	1
The British Public Opinion	1
Lord Crewe (British Politician)	1
Lord Cromer (The Archbishop of Canterbury)	1
Lord Landowne (British politician)	1
The Congo Reform Association (British and American)	2
Mr E.D. Morel (British Journalist)	3
Consul Mitchell(British)	1
The Dignitaries of the Church of England	1
Sir Eduard Grey (British)	5
Lord Fitzmaurice (British politician)	1
Mr Hymans(Belgian)	1
King Leopold II of the Belgians	4
The Leaders of Religious groups in Britain	1
The London House of the Commons	1
Mr Le Franc (Belgian)	1
The British Representatives of Philanthropic Bodies	1
Sheffield Neave (British)	2
Mr Schollaert (Belgian Prime Minister)	4

The editorial position of *The Times* focuses on the Congo as a plundered and mismanaged territory while its natives are referred to as oppressed and slaves of the King Leopold's regime. *The Times* sought to call Belgium to do something about reforming atrocities against the native peoples.

The debate upon the condition of the Congo Free State in the House of Lords on Monday was necessarily in some respects academic....The speeches which were made by Lord Cromer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Crewe must dispel in the minds of all reasonable Belgian citizens certain suspicious and certain illusions which may have tended in the past to cloud their judgement...The Lord Fitzmaurice declared, consider it to be in accordance with the treaties on which the Congo State was founded that assurances should be given by any authority which becomes responsible for the administration that reforms shall be carried out 'not only in theory, but in practice.'...The combination in the hands of the administration and the commercial exploitation of the country is the essence of the Congo system, and it has led to rapine and to oppression. The facts, Lord Cromer observed, are, now well known. No effort was made to dispute them, and the latest White Paper from which we give extracts elsewhere contains fresh evidence in support of them... (*The Times*, February 26, 1908, p.11).

The voices of those calling for the change figured prominently in the editorials.

No Arrangement which may now be made can be regarded as satisfactory unless it ensures the fulfilment of treaty rights and a moderately good government to the natives of the Congo ... reforms shall be carried out not only in theory but in practice ( *The Times*, February 26, 1908, p.11).

The fact that all of us without distinction of party, are anxious that Belgium should take over the sovereignty of the Congo State is the best proof of the confidence we have in her will and in her ability to remedy the crying abuses which exist there ...The Belgian solution is the natural solution (*The Times*, February 28, 1908; p.11).

*The Times* also reported the influence that the Anglo Saxon powers had over Belgium and the Congo Free State.

Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons announced that this country with the United States was prepared to stand on the right given to us by the Berlin Treaty with regard to the Congo State whoever might be its ruler ... (*The Times*, April 21, 1908, p.7).

The case of the Congo Reform Association (was)...That more than three-fifths of the revenues drawn from (domain national) [the Congo], the whole of the revenues drawn from the crown domain, and the whole of the revenues drawn from the third division of the territory and that of the financial partners of the administration are described as slavery and bondage under the most barbarous and inhuman conditions for mercenary motives of the most selfish character (*The Times*, March 6, 1908, p.11).

These above quotes from the editorials were drawn from the speeches made by British ministers that *The Times* had reported. The paper tied itself closely to the stand of the British Government regarding the matter of the Congo. The British Government was clearly against Leopold's administration of the Congo and the enslavement of the natives. The personal role of the King who owned the crown domain, a wealthy area in the country but which was a private fiefdom within the State enabled the King to benefit personally. *The Times* also reported the fact that Britain had power to challenge the Belgian Government because Britain is one of the countries that endorsed and signed the treaty that allowed King Leopold II to occupy the Congo and to administer it.

Our sole concern in this business is to see a responsible government established in the Congo ready to respect our rights and the rights of the natives ... Our rights and duties to the natives are based on the explicit terms of the Berlin Act of 1885 and the Anglo Congolese Convention of 1884, whereby we recognise the Congo Association (*The Times*, March 27, 1908, p.11).

*The Times* in its editorial comments was clearly supportive of government policy regarding the future of the Congo and that it should be taken out of the personal hands of Leopold and transferred to the Belgian authorities for the better administration of the Congo and for the welfare of the Congolese people.

The transfer of the free state to the control of the Belgian government and of the nation, acting through its representative institutions is the solution of the Congo problem to which public opinion in England has steadily moved forward as the best that could be possibly be found (*The Times*, September 10, 1908, p.7).

The Congo annexation, we publish today a document that a document that should materially contribute to a satisfactory settlement of the Congo question....prominent in the list are dignitaries of the Church of England, and leaders of the other principal religious communities. Members of Parliament and mayors of historic cities and of wealthy and progressive centres of trade and industry have signed it in a large number ... the memorandum is a spontaneous manifestation of public opinion (*The Times*, December 23, 1908. p.11).

There were reports of the Belgian reactions to the pressure from Britain and the efforts that the Belgian Government to convince the King to give up his personal administration of the Congo and place it into the hands of the Belgian administration. *The Times* did not report the King account directly but relied on the accounts of British and Belgian politicians.

Our Brussels correspondent send news of a fresh development in the long drawn negotiations between Belgium and King Leopold, Sovereign of the Congo State....Thus the Domaine de la couronne would still to all intents and purposes have been a State within a State, and all the scandals which have outraged civilisation and have been the chief motive for the Congo agitation in Belgium and elsewhere would have been just as inserted in the original treaty that Belgium might purchase the rubber forests of the Domaine, but in as much as the

price was fixed on a basis which must have made it anything from 100 to 167 million Francs (*The Times*, March 6, 1908, p.11).

The commentaries published in *The Times* in 1908 were dominated by the pressure and international agitation mainly from the Anglo-Saxon powers. *The Times* mainly reported the British Government opposition to the King Leopold's rule in the Congo. Ed Morel was reported as one of the philanthropists who disagreed with Leopold's administration and the enslavement of the Congolese natives, one of the main reasons why the Congo Association Reform was created.

### ***News Articles***

Of the 100 news stories published, 60 of them were about the politics of the annexation of the Congo and its administration; 30 news articles justice for the natives and human right activities to liberate Congolese natives from the King Leopold II's regime. Eight business articles and two exploration articles (See table 9)

**Table 9: Colonial News Themes**

Politics	60
Justice for natives	30
Business	8
Exploration	2

The by-liners of *The Times* stories published in this period were mainly *Times* Correspondents. The other authors and by-liners included Sir Arthur Harding, the Belgian Chamber, the Belgian Government, the Belgian Senate, the Bishop of Durham, the British Foreign Office, the Congo Reform Association, the Church of England, Mr Ed Morel, the French League Association, Mr Hamlyn, the London Church Leaders, Rev Bond, Rev Veemeersch, the Representatives of Journal of

Brussels, Washington House of Representatives, Anglo-Belgian Correspondent, and one anonymous author (see table 10).

**Table 10: Colonial News authors/By-lines**

Anonymous	1
Sir Arthur Harding	2
The Belgian Chamber	3
The Belgian Government	1
The Belgian Senate	2
The Bishop of Durham	1
The British Foreign Office	2
The Congo Reform Association	4
The Church of England	1
Mr E.D. Morel	1
The French League	1
Mr Hamlyn (British)	1
The London Church Leaders	1
The Secretary of Kasai Company	1
Rev Bond (British Missionary)	1
Rev Veermersch (Belgian Jesuit)	1
The Representative of Journal the Bruxelles	1
The Secretary of the British Kasai Company	1
<i>The Times</i> Anglo-Belgian Correspondent	1
<i>The Times</i> Correspondent	72
The Washington House of Representatives	1

Direct sources mentioned in *The Times* in this period included King Leopold II and the Prime Minister Mr Schoellert and Belgian politicians and activists who spoke out openly on annexation, its advantages and disadvantages for Belgium as a Nation and for Congolese native peoples. These included Mr Beenaert, Mr Bertran, Mr Carton de Wiart, Mr D'Avignon, Mr Demblon, Mr Dennis, Mr Destree, Professor Ernest Nyis, Mr Franck, Mr Hubin, Mr Hymans, Mr Vandervelve, Rev Vermeersch, a Jesuit Missionary. *The Times* coverage also cited the Belgian Government and other various Belgian official bodies such as Belgian Chamber of Commerce, the Belgian

Commission XVII, the Belgian Grey book<sup>18</sup>, the Belgian Government, the Belgian Senate and the Brussels Liberal Association (see table 11).

**Table 11: Belgian Colonial News Sources**

<i>Direct Belgian colonial News Sources</i>	
Mr Beernaert (Politician)	10
The Belgian Chamber	5
The Belgian Commission XVII	6
The Belgian Grey Book	3
The Belgian Government	1
The Belgian Senate	5
Mr Bertran (Politician)	1
The Brussels Liberal Association	1
Mr Carton de Wiart (Politician)	4
Mr D'avignon (Politician)	10
Mr Demblon (Politician)	6
Mr Dennis (Politician)	1
Mr Destree (Politician)	1
Professor Ernest Nyis (Belgian)	2
Mr Franck (Politician)	2
Mr Hubin (Politician)	2
Mr Hymans (Politician)	25
King Leopold of the Belgians	35
Mr Neujean (Politician)	1
Mr Renkin (Politician)	8
Mr Schoellert (Prime Minister)	34
Mr Vandervelve (politician)	15
Rev Vermeersch (Jesuit Missionary)	2

*The Times* also covered official sources from other countries including governmental bodies, Church leaders and ministers and others who played an important role in the process of the annexation of the Congo to the Belgian Government. The direct cited sources among the Anglo Saxon leaders and other foreigners were British Minister of the Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, the Emperor William of Germany, Mr Hoyois, Mr Janson, the British Vice Consul Mr Armstrong as well as the American

<sup>18</sup> The Belgian Grey Book is the authorised diplomatic correspondence and the equivalent is the German White and British White Book and Blue Book, the Russian Orange and the French Yellow Book (from Wikipedia accessed in December 20, 2011).



Government, the British House of the Lords and the British Foreign Office (See table 12). *The Times* cited sources articulating the injustice facing the indigenous peoples and representing the campaign for reform. The latter included Mr Ed Morel, the secretary of the Congo Reform Association, Mr Paton of the Congo Reform Association Liverpool Branch, the Bishop of Liverpool and the Bishop of Durham. The other organisations that challenged Leopold II's rule were the Congo Association which was based in England but with anonymous connections in the Congo, USA and the rest of Europe, the French League for the Protection of the Congo Basin Natives, the Clergy and Ministers, and Reverend John Howell (See table 12).

**Table 12: Anglo Saxon and other Colonial News Sources**

The American Government	1
The Bishop of Durham (England)	1
The British Foreign Office	1
The British House of the Lords	1
Rev Bond (British Missionary)	1
Mr Charles Dilke (Bishop of Liverpool)	2
The Clergy and Ministers of London	1
The Congo Reform Association	5
Mr Ed Morel (British activist & Journalist)	12
Sir Edward Grey (British politician)	16
The Emperor William of Germany	2
The French Leave Association For Congo Natives	1
Lord Fritzmaurice (British politician)	1
Mr Hamlyn (British)	1
Mr Gilchrist (British)	1
Mr Hoyois (British)	2
Mr Janson (British politician)	4
Mr John Harris (British Missionary)	3
Rev John Howell (British Missionary)	1
Mr Paton (British Activist)	1
Vice Consul Armstrong (British)	1

## *Politics*

*The Times* widely reported the accusations by Britain and the United States, the Congo Reform Association against the King's regime in the Congo. Testimonies of the injustices committed against the native population were reported. These tended to be from campaigners and anonymous witnesses speaking of the atrocities and activities taking place in the Congo during the King's regime.

We were told by the white men of the company and a State official that because the rubber was finished on our side of the river and we could only gather one ball ... then he answered that we must go to the forest and gather four balls or your village will be swept out ... when they are not large enough, they beat and knock us ... and make us go back to the forest without permitting us to return to our town for food ... when we protest to the white man that we shall die of hunger, he says, all right, you eat your own excrement ... (*The Times*, February 24, 1908,p.7)

The Rev, C. Bond who has just arrived from Lulonga, a post 700 miles in the interior of the Congo Free State, where he has been working for seven years, has made the following statement to Reuter's representative regarding the present situation in the Congo: 'There can be no doubt that, as a result of the agitation in Europe, some slight changes have been made in the administration but it is questionable whether there is any real improvement to record. For instance, taxes, which were reduced by a Royal inspector sent from Brussels, were raised to their original amount by the local officer as soon as the inspector's back was turned. Now an addition to the men, the native women are openly taxed and I know of cases where boys of 13 to 15 are also taxed by the Government. The result is that the natives have to spend half their time in raising food for the State soldiers. At Lulonga there is only one post. This is held by one white officer and a guard of 30 soldiers and as some of the taxes paid by the people go out of the district, this means that a population of a thousand men, women, and children have to devote half their time to providing food for this handful of men' ... But to-day,

under our very eyes, natives are chained for eight days whenever their taxes of fish rations are short in weight. Last December my colleague, Mr. Gilchrist, made a journey up the Ikelemba river, and reported that the rubber trade was in full swing, and that the population was groaning under the system. In many of these regions the population has been reduced by sleeping sickness and other causes to one-tenth yet still except in the immediate neighbourhood of mission stations, taxation is not per capita, but on the village (*The Times*, February 24, 1908, p.7).

Reports from activists, bishops and Church leaders in Britain included such excerpts:

An appeal to the Clergy and Ministers of London ... the last few years have seen the case against Congo misrule completely established ... the condition of the natives on the Congo remains as bad as it has ever been, the lash and the hostage house continue to exist, the terrible sacrifice of human life goes on unchecked ... the whole country groans under the weight of a merciless and destructive slaver ... the proposal that the Congo should be annexed to the Belgian Government is our opinion, rightly supported by the British Government ...' ( *The Times*, January 30, 1908, p. 15).

Not only from published statements but from long and repeated conversations ... I feel as strongly as possible that the injustice of the system of the Congo Free State but beyond these cruelties has always lain the absolutely unjust system under which the land and all its products are claimed as the property of the State ... I deeply feel further that the injustice and oppression of which white men and nominated Christians have been guilty on the Congo cannot but affect the reputation of Europe and Christendom all over Africa (*The Times*, March 24, 1908; p. 11).

Official reported from the British Government on injustice in the Congo Free State was appeared.

The Foreign Office has issues a Parliament paper ( CD 3880), entitled Africa No. 1 (1908), and containing

Further Correspondence respecting the Independent State of the Congo in continuation of Africa No.1 (1877). This correspondence consists of reports from consular officers on various points connected with the treatment of the natives and the administration of the State. The News Decrees and the circulars applying them do not, therefore, in any way modify the 'corvee' system hitherto in force. To call it 'impot' or 'taxation' is a misnomer, to describe it in terms of currency is disingenuous and misleading. Give the native the opportunity of freely earning money and he will be only too glad to get quit of his obligations to the State by the payment of 2 fr per month. In the section on female labour it says: this is not necessarily bad, as the women are accustomed to work. But the position of women already very low, in the Congo has received no attention in the legislation of the country, and the action of the State has been to lower it vastly more. Only about a dozen of the officers of the State have their wives with them and those are at the top of the tree. Every white man has his 'managere'<sup>19</sup>. This example is followed by the black personnel of the post, and the consequence is there is now a large class of idle roving female in every station... the imposition of taxation on both men and women is not only hardship but an unmitigated evil. In one case that I know of, the whole population was constantly at work. At Liboko, on the Lindi there are three large villages, all the men of which are employed for about twenty two days in every month making rubber, making baskets, and then carrying them to Bengamisa. The women accompany their husbands for a part of the time; the rest of the month is taken up by carrying loads for the State transport between Kaparata and Bengamisa. All the portage between the mouth of the Lindi and Banalya on the Aruwimi is, to my knowledge, done by the women... (*The Times*, February 26, 1908, p.17).

The reactions of the Belgian Government to the allegations of forced labour, abuse and exploitation of the natives were also reported. The decision of annexation of the

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<sup>19</sup> Femme Managere means servant in the text, the lady in charge of looking after the house ( Author's translation)

Congo to Belgian administration as the best way to clean up the mess and to better run the country was well documented. For example,

Mr Hymans frankly declared his conviction that annexation was an urgent and inevitable duty for Belgium. It was a great mistake not to have annexed the Congo in 1901 ... Think of Belgium's honour! ... (*The Times*, April 30, 1908, p.5).

Annexation was represented as the only option to solve mismanagement, injustice and exploitation of the natives. This was the official position of most Belgian ministers and politicians as well as governments in the Anglo Saxon world.

All these politicians recognise annexation as the only solution which harmonises alike with Belgium's dignity and the duties of civilisation (*The Times*, April 02, 1908, p.5).

The Deputy of Antwerp Mr Franck said we have contracted serious duties towards our fellow-countrymen who have gone to Africa and towards the natives whom we have redeemed from barbarism. If we are to abandon them, we had better substitute a weather-cock for the lion on the national coat of arms (*The Times*, April 28, 1908, p.5)

The discussions and debates inside the Belgian Parliament about annexation were presented and they were reported by *The Times* as the key event in the history of Belgium since its independence from the Holland in 1830.

The Belgian Chamber is about to begin a debate on the most difficult question, and the one most far reaching in its possibilities that it has had to decide since the separation from Holland in 1830... the ultimate object of this great inquiry is of course to decide the future administration of the Congo. It being generally agreed that the present administration is intolerable, the course of events which need not be recalled in detail, has led to the recognition of the annexation of the country by Belgium as 'the most natural and the best solution' of

the question. There are alternatives about which we shall doubtless hear plenty in the course of the debate but except for convinced anti-annexationists the arguments in favour of this solution seem irresistible (*The Times*, April 15, 1908, p.5).

The nature of the stories reflected the dilemma of supporting colonial endeavour as well as criticising the nature of the colonial operation in the Congo Free State.

Unfortunately however, it is not merely a question of placing under a European civilising Power a virgin slice of Central Africa. The State in which Belgium is now invited to make her very own mark is anything but clean. If she were already a colonial power and were merely thinking of adding to her Empire, on her own conditions and simply because it seemed advisable, a new and untouchable piece of savagedom, the project of her responsibilities would be serious enough. But when in this case, a country which has never had a colony and the whole temperament of which is called upon to save her face in the eyes of civilisation by taking over a region tainted with all the abuses of perverted and unscrupulous regime (*The Times*, April 15, 1908, p.9)

The tensions between the Belgian Government and their sovereign were covered in detail. Much of this coverage focussed on the question of the Crown domain in the Katanga region which was of particular interest to Britain. King Leopold II and the British authorities had signed a particular agreement over this region in 1890 without the endorsement of Germany and the United States. The King had to sell it off and asked the Belgian government to pay off the debts that he incurred to British companies that operated in this area. To solve this dilemma Belgian politicians had to create and pass laws within the Parliament to challenge the Convention of the Berlin Act of 1890 that authorised the Sovereign of the Congo to create a small State within the State. The different Belgian political parties came together to discuss and to vote for laws to abolish the Crown domain and then purchase all the business concessions from King Leopold II of the Belgians. This was done through an official decree issued by Sovereign of the Congo Free State King Leopold II who abolished the Crown domain.

According to an official resume which is too bald to admit of useful comment, the 'additional Act' laid on the table of the Chamber this afternoon stipulates that The article 1 of the treaty of cession of November 28 published in *The Times* of December 7, does not apply to the Fondation de la Couronne (Crown Domain), the property of which, in the event of annexation, is handed over to the State without the question of purchase arising. This cession is subject to the payment of annual allowances of 120,000f (£4,800) and 75,000f (£3000) to Prince Albert and Princess Clementine respectively, and to the obligation to respect the concessions made by the Fondation de la Couronne to the American Congo Company and to the Compagnie Forestiere Meniere, and to the missionaries of Scheut for the establishment of their mission... Belgium becomes responsible for all the debts of the Fondation de la Couronne in which she is specially interested, amounting to 1,133,000f (£45,320) (*The Times*, March 6, 1908, p.7).

*The Times* stories on the Congo Reform Association, its documentation of the atrocities committed in the Congo and its demand for the Crown Domain to be handed over to Belgian government administration to improve the condition of the Congolese natives feature significantly. The stand of the United States of America, as well as British public support for reform and change, also figured.

The committee of the Congo Reform Association have addressed a memorandum to Sir Edward Grey on the Congo Transfer Treaty. After an exhaustive analysis of the terms on which the Belgian Government propose to annex the Congo Free State and which have now been endorsed by the Parliamentary commission of XVII... The main contention of the committee is that the obligations of the Congo State for which Belgium is to assume responsibility, and the foundations and acquired rights of their parties which she is to engage to respect, involve the perpetuation of that interpretation of the right of property which is the root of the prevailing evils. The treaty documents make it clear that the produce of the soil, which represents the trading wealth of the population, is regarded as the property and main source of revenue of the State. The rights which have been conferred upon concessionnaires depend on the

maintenance of this system and to abolish it Belgium would have to repudiate the obligations which are proposed that she should assume. Reforms provided in the Colonial Law cannot, in the opinion of the committee, be the superimposed morally wrong and internationally illegal. The memorial also calls attention to the fact that the 'obligations' which Belgium is to pledge herself by the Treaty to respect, are limited to those specified in the Annex A., e.g., to the arrangements with various financial corporations and missionary bodies, and that there is no mention whatever of the international obligations incurred by the Congo State (*The Times*, March 27, 1908, p.23).

Washington correspondent telegraphs that the action of the House of Commons in pledging its support to the Government in securing a fundamental alteration of the system of administration on the Congo is favourably regarded in Washington. It resembles substantially the resolution passed by the Senate a year ago, advising the President that the legislature would uphold whatever steps the administration deemed necessary to take on behalf of the Congo natives. The resolution was not passed with the expectation that the President would immediately act upon it, but in order that he might be free to co-operate with the other Powers signatory to the Act of Berlin. At the time it was though probable that Great Britain would act in a similar sense, and this anticipation influenced the passage of the resolution. It is felt that the readiness of Great Britain and the United States to co-operate will stimulate the Belgian Parliament towards the annexation of the Congo ...' (*The Times*, March 3, 1908, p.5).

The reactions of the Belgium Government regarding the challenges and public reactions that their proposals for change were reported as were their views of the Congo Reform Association.

It is felt here that the memorandum of the Congo Reform Association to Sir Edward Grey reveals a failure to realise the true bearings of the situation. Belgian resentment has been aroused afresh by a document which appears not to do justice to the enormous alterations, amounting as whole to a complete



revolution, which have been effected in the Colonial Law as a result of the labours of the commission of XVII (*The Times*, March 30, 1908, p.5).

Doubt how the changes would improve the situation of the Congolese as reported by the Congo Reform Association were included.

How can they continue to restrict freedom of commerce when Belgium is in a position to say that commerce throughout the Congo is to be free? Of course, if Belgium were to dispute the apparent meaning of the Act of Berlin, she would incur a heavy responsibility. But till she does so, or until the Act of Berlin is shown to mean something entirely different from what is apparently does mean, why should she be obliged as has the administrator whom she supersedes? Lastly, why in the face of all that has already been done to put the colony under the same constitutional safeguards as the mother country, should it be supposed that Belgium will be content to remain a passive spectator of moral iniquities and economic outrages which must injure alike her position as civilising Power and the ultimate property of her possessions. 'Fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra! [do what you must do, come what may]<sup>20</sup> said Mr Hymans in his impassioned declaration the other day. The British Government may be relied upon to do its duty in any case. When Belgium knowing what is expected of her, fails (*The Times*, March 30, 1908, p.5).

*The Times* reported the range of positions inside Belgium over the proposals to annex the Free State. There was a particularly bitter debate, with the pro and anti-annexation forces expressing themselves forcefully in the Parliament. After several months of debate they came to a mutual agreement. It was realised that the only way to regain their national reputation damaged by demonstrations, protests and unrest internationally was to improve the management of the Congo and its native peoples. It became apparent to the Belgian government that the only solution to satisfy the international community and to save the honour of Belgium was the annexation of the Congo to the Belgian government and a better administration of the Congo. The

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<sup>20</sup> Advienne que pourra is a common French expression used frequently what people have to make an immediate decision on a situation (author).

Belgian Liberal and Socialist Party, including the Prime Minister of this period, Mr Schollaert played a key role in this process of passing the annexation bill in the Belgian Parliament. *The Times* reported this process. However the coverage focussed as much as on Belgium's reputation and international standing including pressure received from Britain and the United States of America as it did on the response to calls for better treatment of the Congolese natives. Issues of treatment of the natives were couched in paternalistic, colonial terms and framed by the words of leading political figures in Belgium and the international community.

It is our duty...now the moment has come...the time for Belgium to open the Congo to the civilisation ... the Congo must be ours, the great African colony with no other name than the Belgian Congo ...'(The Times, January 15, 1908, p.7).

Finally, it is a question of allowing Belgium to spend in a land belonging to her the treasures of devotion which for centuries she has been spending on every continent and in all climates for the education and civilisation of inferior races. This is a noble undertaking ... How shall we resist the attraction of the role which is offered to us to be the redeemers of the African race, of the millions of natives who await from us salvation (The Times, April 14, 1908, p.4).

Welcoming annexation of the Congo territory...feeling equally satisfied that the settlement of native rights in the Congo will prove a turning point in the future dealing between white and black in the vast tropical regions of Africa ...we are of opinion that this firm stand on fundamental principles of justice and equity (The Times, December 23, 1908, p.8).

*The Times* did not report directly the views of King Leopold. The news articles centred on the pressures put on Belgian to take over the administration of the Congo Free State from the King and his business associates. There were, however, some reports on the anti-annexation campaign within Belgian politician and the state of public opinion. The reports on the nature of the opposition to annexation focussed on

the views that it would be costly for the Belgian government and that it could lead to rebellion from the native population.

Opposition to the Annexation... the three main topics of M. Lorand's speech on the annexation treaty were the prospect of diplomatic difficulties for Belgium, the cost of reforms, and especially of buying out the concessionary companies if that became necessary and the dangers of native revolts... Mr Lorand concluded a fine manly speech by reading the last paragraph of Sir Harry Johnston's introduction to 'Red Rubber' which contains a grave warning against the risk lest continued misgovernment in the Congo may lead to a movement against the white man which will prematurely stamp out the beginnings of civilisation and against which except as far as the coast-line is concerned the resources of Europe will be powerless... (*The Times*, May 6, 1908, p.7).

Today's was entirely confined to the Opposition. After M. Denis, the elderly Socialist Deputy from Liege had finished a speech, begun on Friday in which he drew an alluring picture of the advantages of Philanthropic internationalisation for the Congo, as compared with the proposed colonisation by Belgium ... Mr Vandervelve will vote against this particular treaty of annexation because in his opinion, the conditions attached to it will lay upon Belgium unnecessary financial burdens and render more difficult the reforms which alone can undo the mischief of the past (*The Times*, May 4, 1908, p. 6). Mr Destree, one of the effective Socialist orators in the Chamber, concluded today a powerful anti-annexation speech ... All colonisation inevitably means spoliation and slavery of for the colonised...even internationalisation would merely be the substitution of many brigands for one. The only solution in keeping with the honour of the country would be to break with the Congo altogether (*The Times*, July 16, 1908, p.7).

Some of this opposition as the above report illustrates were not based on paternal viewed but on a strong regard for the plight of the indigenous population. *The Times* coverage of this debate, and its reporting throughout the whole sample period, focused on British perspective on events. This particularly centred on the views of

the Government. Despite concern about international interference in Belgium we are told that the Belgian authorities did not see British involvement as pressuring them to annex the Congo to Belgium. Instead of outside interference as a threat to their internal affairs they looked at Britain as a friend.

On the international question, Mr Hymans said: England has been for us a watchful friend, animated by loyal and generous intentions, she will not seek to hamper our colonial apprenticeship and make heavy the task which we are going to assume...the Belgian Congo cannot be subject to an exceptional regime different from that of other colonies on a conventional basis (*The Times*, April 30, 1908, p.5).

### ***Business***

The business stories carried by the newspaper reinforces the view that British involvement in the matter of annexation of the Congo to Belgium was not about the salvation of the Congolese natives but in the country own business interests. Better treatment of the natives was often reported in commercial terms. A few critical comments of Britain did appear. For example, one American politician is reported as having spoken out against the British government. He stated that the British campaign against the King's regime was propaganda to facilitate business rather than promotion of the welfare of the Congolese. .

In the House of the Representatives, Mr Harrison declared that agitation against 'slavery' in the Congo was the result of propaganda in Great Britain, which coveted the Congo Free State. He objected to the Secretary of State 'Being led by clamour stirred up by 25 English missionaries and being induced by Great Britain to attack King Leopold and to be ready to try to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for England... The Congress ought to stop America standing behind them (*The Times*, April 21, 1908. p.3).

*The Times* more often reported support for British companies operating in the controversial Crown domain, one of the main reasons of the annexation campaign. References to British deals in the region were made.

Agreement has been signed between the British South Africa Company, the Katanga Railway Company, The Union Minière du Haut Katanga, and the lower Congo Katanga railways Company, the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, and the lower Congo-Katanga Railways, where by the British South Africa Company is to take steps for the extension as soon as possible of the Rhodesian Railway from Broken Hill, the present terminus, to a point on the frontier of the Congo State at or near Mayaba ... to enable plants and materials to be carried over it to the frontier of the Congo State, the Katanga Railway Company agrees to begin the construction of a railway from frontier to the Star of the Congo mine ... to Ruwe Copper deposits (*The Times*, July 1908, p.9).

The tenor of the business articles was positive unlike the political stories which carry more doubts as to the motives of the British Government's involvement in the annexation campaign.

### ***Exploration***

Only one article appeared in *The Times* newspaper on exploration where a British man brought back two monkeys and a strange animal from the Congo.

Mr Hamlyn has, the animal dealer of St George-Street, who has obtained two or three new monkeys from the Congo has just received from the same region a very curious feline animal nearly as large as an adult lioness which resembles in build, but irregularly spotted ...' (*The Times*, April 15, 1908, p.6).

### *The Times Colonial Stereotypes*

The reporting of 1908 identifies several forms of stereotypical representation which was apparent in the language used and some of the discourses deployed (see Table 13).

**Table 13: Colonial Stereotypes**

Stereotypes	Frequency	Percentage
Civilisation/education/evangelisation	17	15.1 %
The Natives (indigenous people)	15	13.3 %
Black/negro	11	9.8 %
Forced labour	10	8.9 %
White man	9	8.0 %
The Great powers	7	6.2 %
Slavery ( Exploitation)	5	4.4 %
Justice ( Humanity)	3	2.6 %
Barbaric	1	4.4 %

Some sentences especially those around forced labour, slavery and the intervention of the great powers might be repeated from previous sample period. For example, the following quotes illustrate stereotypical representation of the Congolese in *The Times* in 1908.

Forced labour... can only be admitted if its produce is to benefit the colony (*The Times*, January 25, 1908, p.5).

It is a question of allowing Belgium in for the education and civilisation of inferior races ... How we shall resist the attraction of the role which is offered to us to be the redeemers of the African race, of the millions of natives who await from us salvation (*The Times*, April 14, 1908, p.4)

However, we also see in this period references to the plight of indigenous people and their suffering at the hands of their white masters. For example,

We were told by the white men of the company... when we protest to the white man that we shall die of hunger,

he says, all right, you eat your own excrement ... (*The Times*, February 24, 1908)

There were also direct criticisms of colonial endeavours and in particular the role of the Christian mission as well as advocacy of the rights of indigenous peoples. For example,

I deeply feel further that the injustice and oppression of which white men and nominated Christians have been guilty on the Congo cannot but affect the reputation of Europe and Christendom all over Africa (*The Times*, March 24, 1908; p. 11).

The settlement of native rights in the Congo will prove a turning point in the future dealing between white and black in the vast tropical regions of Africa ...'(*The Times*, December 23, 1908, p.8).

### ***5.3. The Times and the Independence of the Congo 1960***

The year 1960 was the year that the country officially gained its independence from Belgium and became the Republic of Congo. News had by this time burgeoned and there were a significantly greater number of international news stories in the paper. There were 17 commentaries and 196 news articles published in *The Times* newspaper, a total of 213 items.

#### ***Commentaries***

There were 17 commentaries this year, including 12 editorials and five letters to the editor. These were written by anonymous authors, Mr Clement Chesterman, Charles Markham, Macmillan, Mills, Mackenzie, Miriam Grenfell, the British House of the Commons, and *The Times* Editorial Team (see Table 14). There were nine editorials on violence and post-independence unrest, while four editorials commented on post-independence unrest. Only one commentary focussed on the achievement of independence and its consequences for the Congolese people after years of colonial subjugation. The editorials focus on the following topics: preparation of independence, Congolese new elite, the Belgian authorities, the UN and Russian

Interventions and also business that took during this period despite the general unrest in the country.

**Table 14: Post-Colonial Commentaries Authors/By-lines**

Anonymous	2
The British House of the Commons	1
Clement C. Chesterman	1
Charles Markham	1
E. M. Macmillan	1
E. Mills	1
G. Hall	1
Joe Grimond	1
Margery Perham	1
Mackenzie W.J.M	1
Miriam Grenfell	1
Pierre D'allamagne	1
The <i>Times</i> Editorial Team	5

Sources cited directly in the post-colonial commentaries included Mr Ernie Cabot Lodge, Mr Hammar skjold, Sir Leith Ross, Patrice Lumumba, Sir Pierson Dixon, Sir Roy Welensky, the United Nations Security Council, and Mr Vigny (see Table 15).

**Table 15: Post-Colonial Commentaries – Sources**

Ernie Brice (British police man)	1
Cabot Lodge (American politician)	1
Mr Hammar skjold (UN)	4
Sir Leith Ross (British)	1
Patrice Lumumba (Congolese Premier Minister)	4
Sir Pierson Dixon (British)	1
Sir Roy Welensky(Rhodesian Politician)	2
The United Nations Security Council	2
Mr Vigny (Belgian politician)	1

Given the precarious political situation of the country in the wake of independence the bulk of the commentary concentrated on the United Nations intervention and post-independence unrest which is also categorised as violence, disorder and chaos in the country. *The Times* commentaries refer to the country's lacked of preparedness for independence. The paper emphasises that one of the main challenges in the post-



colonial Congo was the lack of preparation made by the Belgian colonial administration which was responsible for the lack of capability of the Congolese to govern and take up the responsibilities of running their own country.

The possibilities of secession have to be judged against the whole background of what the Belgians are doing in the Congo, and particularly the granting of independence on June 30. In making this concession the Belgians are entering on the biggest experiment so far made in Africa south of the Sahara. Unlike the British, and to a lesser extent the French, who have systematically prepared their African wards for the day when they would assume responsibility for their own affairs, the Belgians have decided twelve million Africans shall rule themselves with virtually no preparation (*The Times*, March 9, 1960, p.13).

The newspaper advocates making links between parts of the country, in particular the resource rich Katanga province which sought secession from the rest of the Congo, to become independent with neighbouring entities, unsurprisingly those still in British control or with strong British ties.

Sir Roy Welensky's statement that certain circles in the Katanga province of the Belgian Congo had made approaches to him about union with the Central African Federation has not unnaturally angered the Belgian Government. There is nothing particularly new in this suggestion. During 1958, when Belgian authorities were already working on their new policy for the Congo, they weighed very carefully the advantages of settling up a unitary or a federal state. In British eyes the Congo is always regarded as one territory. But it is so vast and diverse that it would be more correct to regard its six provinces, seven if we add the Trust Territory of Rwanda-Urundi, as six separate colonies which happen to be geographically contiguous to each other. The lower Congo, for instance, both in the character and development of its people has much in common with British West Africa. Rwanda-Urundi has close ties with Uganda and Tanganyika. Kivu, with its white farmers in equatorial upland country, reminds the visitor of the

Kenya white Highlands (*The Times*, March 9, 1960, p.13).

The editorials following independence concentrated on the violence and confusion that followed. The newspaper returned to the warnings it had made prior to independence.

The chaos, confusion, and violence are hardly surprising considering the circumstances in which the Congo attained its independence...obviously the African Congolese cannot run their own country without outside assistance...there is no Congolese African who has ever held a job above that of clerk, skilled manual labourer, or non-commissioned officer... that is the lesson of the past days in Leopoldville (*The Times*, July 9, 1960, p.7).

Of the internal situation our special Correspondent in Leopoldville reported in yesterday's issue of *The Times*. Most of the action and reaction here has to be seen perhaps in terms of a tribal dispute of cattle raiding, wife stealing and Kraal burning with their attendant and eternal disputations or barazas in which the various parties talk out their quarrels (*The Times*, September 16, 1960, p.13).

The impact of the Cold War and international affairs on the internal affairs of the country was emphasised by the newspaper which was particularly critical of the role of the UN in dealing with the violence and chaos. While supporting intervention it was critical of the UN's delay.

The Security Council by continually postponing any meeting on the Congo has admitted itself flummoxed both by the situation there and by conflicts between its own members. Unhappily the cold war has complicated the issues... on the internal situation this description leaves precious little to be said. It would, of course, be manageable if there were no cold war. Somehow or other the Congo, if complete anarchy is to be avoided, has to be brought back under some degree of wardship or trusteeship, call it what you will. That being so, it would better if this were done through the international community rather than by specific power such as Russia.

The latter course would be simply a reversion to colonialism with a new and communist master. The United Nations got off to be a good start, and so long as Mr Hammarskjold was in personal control made few if any mistakes. But since the third security council resolution that of August 8 and Mr Hammarskjold's no doubt unavoidable withdrawal to New York its affairs have not prospered. Politically, its mandate was clear on only one point, the withdrawal to New York its affairs have not prospered. Its political mandate was clear on only one point, the withdrawal of the Belgian troops. Beyond that it was contradictory, in that the Security Council had enjoined the Secretary General on the one hand to restore order and on the other not to intervene in domestic conflicts. In retrospect it appears clear that directly the last Belgian combatant soldier has left the country at the beginning of September Mr Hammarskjold needed fresh instructions from the Security Council. Lacking these Mr Hammarskjold's agents on the spot began to get themselves into deep waters. The closing of the Leopoldville radio station and of the airfield no doubt appeared administratively justifiable in Leopoldville ... no one can foresee the outcome if the chaos is allowed to continue (*The Times*, September 16, 1960, p.13).

*The Times* editorial comments indicate concern with outside interference and the Cold War making the crisis even worse. They were critical of the attempts of the West and Soviet Union try to extend their political influence on the African continent and recruit Africans to their ideology.

The Congo is like an orange with four sticks stuck into it. These sticks are labelled Belgium, the United Nations, African Nationalism, and Russian communism. Today the first of these sticks, the Belgian one has been to all intents and purpose pulled out. The other three remain. In the initial stages of the crisis the chief danger was that two of these sticks, the Belgians perhaps with the backing of other Europeans and the communists perhaps with the backing of African nationalists would come into conflict (*The Times*, September 7, 1960, p.13)

The editorials also wrestled with the perceived problem of African nationalism on the international stage, indicating concern that outside interference and the Cold War were making the crisis even worse. They were critical of the attempts of the West and Soviet Union try to extend their political influence on the African continent and recruit Africans to their ideology.

Thus the chief objective of the UN apart from technician aid was to prevent this happening which it did by getting the Belgians out as quickly as it reasonably could. But now that this has happened there have been changes of motives accompanied by shifts of power. Out of these changes has arisen the attempt to displace Mr Lumumba and a new series of confusions in which the United Nations on the spot has shown itself unexpectedly resolute in interpreting its mandate to preserve the peace. The key to these events must be sought in the attitudes of African nationalism. And in seeking to appraise these attitudes it is essential to differentiate between African nationalism thinking as a block and African nationalist leaders pursuing their individual interests, predilections and policies. The range of subjects on which, for instance, Mr Bourguba and Mr Sekou Toure see eye to eye is strictly limited. So long as they regarded the Belgian attempts to protect their nationals as military threat to retain or regain their real power especially economically, the leaders of the independent African states retained a large degree of community of outlook even though this features of this common outlook were a suspicion of the United Nations (with its European Secretary-General and European contingents of troops). An all out support of Mr Lumumba (as the only possible person capable of holding the Congo together), and a tolerance of the Russian Czech-Guinean axis as the lesser of many evils. Had the threatened civil war emerged at this stage the chances are that Mr Lumumba would have had both the nationalists and communists as his backers. The Situation has now sharply shifted. The Belgian troops have gone. The only possible eventually which can lead to a Belgian's return is the armed invasion of the Katanga by Lumumba (*The Times*, September 7, 1960, p.13)

Letter correspondence to *The Times* wrote of events happening in the Congo serving as a lesson to other neighbouring African nations waiting for independence of the dangers that could greet them. Post-independence unrest in the Congo challenged and raised awareness to other European countries with territories in Africa that they should better provisions for independence in the countries if they were to avoid the repetition of the events that took place in the Congo. This was the particular case in relation to Britain's involvement in the country.

Sir, The tragedy of recent events in the Congo Republic must be a valuable lesson to all those who advocate the grant of immediate independence to the remaining territories in Africa. Insofar as the countries concerned which are administered by the Colonial Office, few will question that complete independence must be the desirable goal for every country. Unless however the political wind of change is not to result in a hurricane of terror. It is vital that our legislators in Westminster should appreciate their onerous responsibilities, not only to the various established minorities. But to the inhabitants of the country generally (*The Times* July 15, 1960, p. 13).

*The Times* letter correspondents and the editorials teams warned that 'in the interim period' more must have been done to train and encourage Africans to play an ever increasing part in the Government of the country, and indeed under the new constitution they should have had a substantial majority in the legislative Council. What should not have happened was to expect political expediency to become the judge as to when conditions were right for independence. Commentaries showed a paternalistic and colonial attitude to the situation in the Congo while confusion and violence were couched in terms of a lack of preparation and expertise on behalf of the Congolese natives who simply never understood what independence meant for them and for the country. The role of the Belgian authorities and external factors were part of the problems and after the fighting took place the latter was stressed by the newspaper as a key driver behind the disintegration of the country. However, the failure of local people was never far from the surface of the discussion either their

wilful decision to reject Western aid and values or through their lack of education in Western ways.

### ***News Articles***

Of the 196 news articles examined in 1960, 98 were on international politics, primarily on the UN and Russian intervention which was called foreign interference. 88 articles were on domestic Congolese politics, primarily internal unrest and rebellions and the independence movements and celebration of the country's freedom. There were 10 stories were on the business that continued to take place in the county. Distinguishing between international politics and domestic politics was not easy in the period of the Cold War which was at its height in the 1960s. The post-independence unrests of this period were integrally connected to UN and external interventions from the superpowers, the US and UUSR. The Cold War was not only a political struggle but a conflict between Western capitalism and Soviet communism, played out in the Congo and other African nations that gained independence during this period. News articles for the whole of this year were produced for *The Times* newspaper by a number of authors; agency copy accounted for a large number of stories but again the newspapers own correspondents produced most of the stories. Not all were located in the Congo and reporters based at the UN generated a significant number of stories (See table 16).

**Table 16:Post-Colonial news authors/by-lines**

Anonymous	10
AP (Associated Press)	1
The Belgian news agency	3
Mr Bomboko & Mobutu	1
Mr Brockway	1
Congolese Vice minister of Information	1
Dr Fisher	1
Reuter	19
UN Correspondents	26
<i>The Times</i> Correspondents	136

## *Politics*

Several themes emerged from the newspapers reporting of political stories. These themes ran through to some extent both the international and domestic political coverage. This section will look at in more detail *The Times* coverage of the Congo and Belgian before Independence Day, internal domestic politics within the Congo prior to foreign interventions and the United Nations intervention that sought to bring peace to the Congo's post-independence unrest.

### *Reporting Independence Preparations*

In the first six months of 1960, *The Times* coverage was centred on the negotiations between the Belgian administration and the Congolese upcoming elites on the independence and its aftermath. The process of the Congolese people choosing their own leader began in Brussels in a roundtable discussion. Congolese elites from various and political regions and backgrounds attended. Belgium pledged to assist Congolese in running the country but Congolese wanted to be fully independent. This was despite the fact that they were aware they did not have sufficiently trained military personnel, medical doctors, judges, qualified teachers and engineers. Unlike other colonial power indigenisation had not been the priority of the Belgian administration during colonial period in the country. The outcome was fully covered.

The climax to the King's inquiries in the Congo came with the audience granted to the leaders of Abako Lower Congo Association and Satellite parties who called for immediate and unconditional independence. They will leave Leopoldville for Brussels on the first anniversary of the day when the tragic riot started in the Congo capital. Though a distinction should be drawn between the lower Congo and the whole Congo, there can be no doubting the importance of Abako and the overwhelming popularity of Mr Kasavubu, its president (*The Times*, January 4, 1960, p.8).

The round-table conference in Brussels on the future of the Congo agreed that King Baudouin would remain chief of State until June 30, the day when independence is to be proclaimed, and that he will appoint the members of the first Congo government taking into account the results of the elections for the provincial councils, the Senate and the Chamber. It is expected that a government will be formed about June 20 and that parliament will meet on June 30. Mr Schrijver, the Minister for the Congo, pointed out that the matter must be submitted to the Belgian Government (*The Times*, February 16, p.9).

The members of the round table conference on the future of the Belgian Congo which ended yesterday were received today at the Royal Palace by King Baudouin who congratulated them on having worked in a spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation. The progress of the Congo towards independence has been accelerated as a result of the conference....but in the meantime six Africans will similarly work with the Governor-General are jointly to direct the general administration. Three African will similarly work with the General Governor in each province....Until the 30 of June, the King will remain head of State and in this capacity about June 20 after the elections, he will form the Government which will take over the administration of the country (*The Times*, February 22, 1960, p.9).

*The Times* reported the Belgian authorities' awareness of the state they had left the country in. the reporting but also draws attention to their surprise at the uprising against them before and after independence. Belgians and the Belgium authorities hoped to stay and help the Congolese.

With the proclamation of the independence now near at hand, Belgium is still in two minds about what will be the outcome. This explains why the return to Brussels yesterday from Leopoldville of M. Walter Ganshof van der Meersch, the Minister for General Affairs in Africa, has been welcomed by his colleagues and by public opinion ... (*The Times*, June 10, 1960, p.13).



Mr Lumumba listed five demands: (1) Immediate Withdrawal of all Belgian troops from the Congo. (2) Immediate withdrawal of M. van der Meersh, the Belgian minister sent to handle any trouble during handing over of power on June 30. (2) Election of a chief of state by direct vote, not by vote of the future National Assembly and Upper House, as now arranged. (4) Scrapping of the design for the national flag, a gold star on a blue background with six stars down one side representing the six provinces which his party claims bears the taint of colonialism. (5) Appointment of the Government leader from the party with the largest single majority in the elections... (*The Times*, June 3, 1960, p.11).

M. de Schrijver, the Belgian minister of the Congo affair pointed out the shortcomings in Belgium colonial administration ... for years the insufficient attempts had been to prepare Congolese self-rule... the Belgian administration and successive Governments had to share the responsibility for the faults which has been committed, he said ... (*The Times*, August 18, 1960; p.7).

The reporting of the visit of the Belgian King to the Congo to grant independence in a number of ways drew attention to the lack of experience of Congolese leaders.

King Baudouin said yesterday in a broadcast to the people of Belgium and the Congo that during his recent Congo visit he had noticed the vitality of the African and European population and their almost unanimous desire for sincere cooperation with Belgium. He had met representatives from all sections, and felt the general wish was that the degree of autonomy for the provinces with definite frontiers and a status adapted to their regional characteristics. With independence for the Congo now his determination that no effort should be spared to ensure that Belgium contributed generously and appropriately to the efficient organisation of the new structure and to the harmonious and prosperous development of the Congolese nation. He made a special appeal to young people in Belgium and the Congo for cordial fraternity because friendship between the two peoples would be the real cement (*The Times*, January 11, 1960, p.11).

*The Times* reported that the Congo first indigenous leaders Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba who inexperienced, not well educated and had never held any political position. The coverage of the celebrations and excitement surrounding independence stressed the limitations of local politicians.

The King sat side of the side in the car with the president elect, Mr Kasavubu, *the former clerk* who will be head of state of the 14 million Congolese...Thousands of villagers waving and shouting: 'independence (*The Times*, June 30, 1960; p.12)

Mr Patrice Lumumba, *the former clerk* who leads the Congolese National Movement, revealed today that he aims to be head of state and Prime Minister of the future independent republic (*The Times*, June 3, 1960, p.11).[italics added in both quotes]

As Congolese leaders negotiated with Belgian authorities in Brussels to plan and organise independence, back in the Congo conflict was increasing especially in the Kasai region. The tribal as opposed to economic, political or social causes of these conflicts was emphasised in the reporting..

The Belgian news agency reported that more than 20 Africans were wounded in clashes over the weekend between Lulua and Baluba tribesmen armed with spears and bows and arrows. Police operations were intensified both in and around the town...the enmity between the Lulus and Baluba dates from early colonial days, when the Lulua stayed aloof from the whites while the Baluba were more cooperative. Recently the Lulua have complained that they were more cooperative (*The Times*, January 4, 1960, p.8).

The Statement said the general situation in Kasai had deteriorated since Easter because in addition to tribal antagonism, political feelings were running high with the approach of the Congo's first general elections due to next month (*The Times*, April 22, 1960, p.12)

### *Coverage of the Congolese people and their new elite*

*The Times* reported the on-going post-independence unrest between the Congolese. The unrest was instigated by tribal leaders who apparently misunderstood what independence meant for them and for their country. In the process Congolese nationals, institutions, tribal groups and politicians became news makers for the first time in the newspaper's coverage. Those cited directly in the news included the Congolese Government, Mr Albert Kalonji, the Baluba tribesmen, Mr Bomboko, Mr Cleopas Kamitatu, colonel Mobutu, the Congolese Senate, Mr Daniel Kanza, Mr Kapela, Mr Kasavubu, Mr Kashamura, Mr Kimba, the Lulua tribesmen, Mr Kimba, Mr Maurice Mpolo, Mr McDonnel, Mr Moise Tshombe, Mr Ndele, Officials of the Congolese Defense Ministry, Mr Pascal Nkayi and Mr Patrice Lumumba (see table 17).

**Table 17: Congolese News Sources**

Mr Albert Kalonji (Congolese politician)	7
The Baluba (Tribesmen)	6
Mr Bomboko (Congolese politician)	5
Mr Cleopas Kamitatu (Congolese politician)	3
Colonel Mobutu (Congolese politician)	12
The Congolese Senate	1
Mr Daniel Kanza (Congolese politician)	1
The Congolese Government	1
Mr Kapela (Congolese politician)	2
Mr Kasavubu (Congolese President)	26
Mr Kashamura (Congolese politician)	3
Mr Kimba (Congolese politician)	1
The Lulua Tribesmen (Congolese)	5
Mr Maurice Mpolo (Congolese politician)	1
Mr McDonnel (International Civil Aviation)	1
Mr Moise Tshombe (Congolese politician)	14
The Moroccan Troops	1
Mr Ndele (Congolese Government)	1
Official of the Congolese Defence Ministry	1
Mr Pascal Nkayi (Congolese politician)	1
Patrice Lumumba(the Congolese Prime Minister)	49

*The Times* coverage brought out the fact that the Baluba tribesmen wanted their own tribal leaders to lead the country rather than letting the country be led by a Congolese from other tribal groups.

The provincial Government said that about 200 huts had been burnt after clashes between Lulus and Balubas, traditional enemies, over the past two days. The Government broadcast an appeal for calm. The inter-tribal outbreak began soon after reports that Mr Patrice Lumumba, the Congo Prime Minister had moved to arrest the leaders of the 'rebel' provincial Government set up here by Mr Albert Kalonji, a Baluba leader. The reports were later denied in Luluabourg but confirmed by Mr Kalonji in Leopoldville. In a telegram the Government in Leopoldville tonight gave warning that there would be 'widespread bloodletting' unless the rebel 'government' was recognised. (*The Times*, July 6, 1960, p.11).

A total of 500 Africans have been arrested after the intertribal fighting in the Congo mining province of Katanga last weekend, the Ministry for the Congo announced here today. Elisabethville and surrounding villages about 35 Africans were arrested further to sporadic fighting on Monday and Tuesday. The statement said calm has now been restored. The final casualty figures were seven dead and more than 100 injured. The fighting broke out when rival political groups representing local Katanga inhabitants clashed with Baluba immigrants from the central Congo (*The Times*, March 18, 1960, p.11).

Seven members of the Lulua tribe, including a woman and a child were killed yesterday during an attack on a suburb of Luluabourg by strong groups of Baluba warriors, it was announced here today. More than 30 Lulus were seriously injured by the raiders, who looted and burnt 300 huts. Congolese troops sent to the scene arrested some 40 Balubas. Later they captured another party of 60 armed Balubas after a battle in which two Balubas were killed. The authorities said today that 'mopping up' operations were in progress in the Luluabourg region which was cordoned off by riot police and road blocks. Later an official statement said that Lulua chieftains from the region of Demba Dibaya

and Kasumba, not far from Luluabourg had presented the Belgian authorities with an ultimatum: that the Balubas should be expelled from the region within three days, failing which all the Lulua warriors would march on Luluabourg. The statement said the general situation in Kasai had deteriorated since Easter because in addition to tribal antagonism, political feelings were running high with the approach of the Congo's first general elections due next month (*The Times*, April 22, 1960, p.12).

*The Times* reported the misunderstanding and fighting between Congolese leaders themselves which broke up the country.

Congolese troops backing Colonel Mobutu today acted against supporters of Mr Lumumba arresting two of his Ministers and a number of others. Both Ministers Mr Jason Sendwe and Mr Anicet Kashamura, Information Ministers were later released. But a number of youth movement who were found with revolvers and machetes were kept in goal. Armed Soldiers early this morning burst into a Leopoldville Hotel, banging with rifle butts on several doors before finding the room occupied by Mr Sandwe who heads the opposition to President Tshombe in the breakaway province of Katanga. They also seized Mr Kashamura. The arrests ordered by colonel Mobutu's student council' follow a wave of violence and hooliganism which Mr Lumumba's enemies allege has been organised by his party's youth movement. Yesterday a curfew was imposed after bands of youths had been seen roving the city breaking into empty houses. (*The Times*, October 20, 1960, p.10).

References to other factors that influenced the disputes within the Congo were limited. Besides the lack of qualifications, experience and preparedness and the intervention of external influences the nature and intensity of the dispute were not evaluated or reported.

### ***Coverage of the United Nations and other Foreign Interventions***

*The Times* coverage of international politics was dominated by the role of the United Nations and foreign interference including from the former colonial power Belgium and the Soviet Union. From the analysis of the texts foreign intervention was tied to internal as well as external factors; tribal wars and divisions were connected to the competition of the Cold War. The sources directly cited included the variety of global actors such as the American Government, the American State Department, the Belgian Government, Belgian Combat troops, Belgian Prime Minister, various Belgian political figures, the Soviet Union, Irish, Polish, Malayan, Moroccan and Swedish troops serving with the UN force, the Governments of Ghana, India, the Republic of Ireland as well as leading international statesmen such as Mr Krushchev, Dr Nkrumah, General de Gaulle and Sir Roy Welensky. However, it is worth noting that the most cited source was the King of the Belgians (see Table 18).

**Table 18: Foreign Post-Colonial News Sources**

The American Government	1
The American State Department	1
The American President Mr Eisenhower	1
The Belgian Government	1
The Belgian Combat Troops	1
The Belgian Prime Minister Eyskens	10
Mr Cornelis (The Governor of Belgian Congo)	1
Mr De Shriver (Belgian)	12
Mr Edgar Detwiler (American)	4
Mr Fenner Brockway (British politician)	1
Dr Fisher (Archbishop of Canterbury)	1
The Irish Troops	1
General De Gaulle (French)	1
General von Horn (Swedish)	1
General Rikhye (Indian)	1
Mr Carpenter (British)	1
Mr Gillet (Belgian)	1
Mr Gilson (Belgian)	1
The Government of Ghana	6
The Government of India	1
The Government of the Republic of Ireland	1

Mr Green (Advisor to the US Secretary of State)	1
Mr Harrison (American politician)	1
King Baudouin of the Belgians	22
Mr Khrushchev(Russian Ambassador)	5
Mr Larock (Belgian politician)	1
Lieutenant Colonel Emile Jassen (Belgian)	1
Dr Linner (Belgian)	2
The Malayan Government	4
The Moroccan Troops	2
Mr McDonnell (International Civil Aviation)	1
The Ministry of Belgian Congo and Ruanda Urundi	1
Dr Nkrumah (President of Ghana)	2
The Polish Troops	1
Sir Pierson Dixon (British)	1
Mr Rajeshwar (Indian politician)	2
Mr Rolin (Belgian Politician)	1
Sir Roy Welensky (Rhodesian Governor)	2
Mr Scheyven (Belgian politician)	1
Mr Spaak (NATO Secretary General)	1
The Soviet Union	4
The Swedish Troops	2
Mr Vigny (Belgian politician)	4
Mr Walter Ganshof van Der Meersch(Belgian politician)	7
The Yugoslavian Troops	1
Mr Zorin (Russian politician)	3

*The Times* paid considerable attention to the position of Belgium particularly in its intervention to take out its own citizen, many of whom wanted to stay despite the demands from the indigenous population for them to leave. Belgium backed America and most of the Western countries was central to the effort to maintain western influence and capitalism in the Congo.

The Congo tonight formally broke off diplomatic relations with Belgium after Lumumba; the Prime Minister had said the fortnight-old Republic was 'in a situation similar to being at war with Belgium (*The Times*, July 15, 1960 p.6).

According to the Soviet Press the Government here believes that Colonel Mobutu gets support from the

Belgians and the United States (*The Times*, December 6, 1960, p.10).

*The Times* also reported the ambitions of the Soviet Union to extend its influence and ideology in Africa.

We are marching to communism but not through war. War won't help us to the goal but it would spoil it. It is not necessary to whip people towards communism (*The Times*, November 8, 1960 p.12).

*The Times* also reported the accusations of the Soviet Union that the United Nations, America, Belgium and other Western countries backed Mobutu while Russians were supporting Lumumba.

The violence of the statement issued yesterday from Moscow on the arrest of Mr Lumumba perhaps reflect the Russian feeling that the situation in the Congo is moving farther out of communist control. Thus Russia calls for the disarming of the Mobutu gang of terrorists with the help of the forces in the Congo which were sent there on the decision of the Security Council (*The Times*, December 7, 1960, p.7).

The Soviet Government in a formal statement issued here it also called for the release of Mr Lumumba and the removal of all Belgian soldiers and officials from the Congo. The United Nations Security Council and General Assembly should meet urgently to discuss the Congo situation and see these steps were carried out, the statement said (*The Times*, December 6, 1960, p. 10).

Mr Khrushchev pointing out to the Congo said the imperialist plot against the Congo is a conspiracy against all the African peoples. The African peoples were not alone, however in their struggle. They have the sympathy and support of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the people of all peace loving nations (*The Times*, September 6, 1960, p.10).

President Eisenhower called on the Russian Government today to desist from supplying aircraft and other military



equipment to the forces of Mr Lumumba in the Congo. The United States he said took a 'most serious view' of these unilateral activities which could only aggravate an already grave situation that found Africans killing Africans. He urged Russian authorities to support the collective efforts of the United Nations (*The Times*, September 8, 1960, p.12).

*The Times* covered the response from the Belgian government to the accusations of abandoning the Congo and fermenting division between its leaders.

Belgium will withdraw from the United Nations if the United Nations officials do not refrain from partisan statements was made today by Mr Vigny, the Foreign Minister at a press Conference which provided him with the first opportunity to reply to the debate on the Congo (*The Times*, November 15, 1960, p.10).

Speaking of the situation in the Congo, Mr Vigny said: We left behind Congo an independent country and it is not our job to decide what should be the political future of that country...The Belgian record in the Congo in such fields as education, health, and economy. The percent of children in the Congo who went to school, 58 percent was higher than that of in any other African country except Ghana. He was infuriated by the criticisms voiced against his country and could not admit that the recent failure in the Congo was the fault of Belgians (*The Times*, November 15, 1960, p.10).

Last night, Mr Vigny, the Foreign Minister said that Belgium had decided on non-intervention in Congo politics and technical aid to Katanga had been given only at the demand of the African authorities (*The Times*, October 29, 1960, p.5).

The role of the Belgians and other western countries was most acutely commented on in the relation to the reporting of the break away of Katanga under Tshombe from the rest of the country. This was reported in terms of the secession being supported by Belgians and Rhodesians while the British Government saw it simply as an internal matter between Congolese.

Mr Tshombe had already made it clear that he considered himself justified in asking for the help of the Belgians and even Rhodesian troops in restoring order in the province (*The Times*, July 12, 1960, p.12).

Tshombe said he had appointed a Belgian officer, Major Weber, as coordinating officer in charge of all armed forces and police in Katanga with 'power to act in my name.' He had also asked for more Belgian forces to help to restore order (*The Times*, July 12, 1960, p.12).

The British attitude was expressed by Sir Dixon late last night in the debate when he said: the basic difficulty as we see it is a dispute not between Africans and Belgians but between Africans and Africans. Her majesty Government considered the attitude of the Katanga authorities towards the United Nations forces mistaken and hoped it would be reversed (*The Times*, July 12, 1960, p.12).

Mr Hammarskjold, the secretary General is believed to be planning to persuade Mr Tshombe that the United Nations forces under the terms of his resolution adopted last night by the Security Council will not prejudice Katanga's case for autonomy...calling immediate withdrawal of the Belgian troops from Katanga... (*The Times*, August 10, 1960, p.6).

Intervention was a theme of the reporting with reports of other foreign governments interfering in the Congolese crisis including African countries. This intervention was usually under the rubric of the UN as opposed to an extension of geopolitics.

Mr Ileo said the demand for the withdrawal of Ghanaian and Guinean troops did not mean the embassies would be closed. Colonel Mobutu had demanded their withdrawal on the grounds of interference in internal Congo affairs. Last night letters were produced alleged to be written by Dr Nkrumah which confirmed this charge (*The Times*, September 30, 1960, p.10).

Yugoslavia is among the six countries which have announced their intention of sending their troops in the Congo. The Yugoslav contingent is a token one of about 20 persons. India is among the 12 other countries still

represented in this force but her Prime Minister recently said that India was looking to the Security Council for positive action before deciding what to do...(The Times, December 15, 1960, p.8).

The Government of the Republic of Ireland has decided to send a contingent of troops to the Congo as part of the United Nations...(The Times, July 20, 1960, p.9).

The focus on the UN as a political actor is a noticeable feature of the reporting. *The Times* credited the international organisation with more coherence, independence and power than it actually possessed. The focus on the Secretary General as a spokesman indicated the newsworthiness of the United Nations. Mr Hammarskjold was a controversial figure, attracting criticism from within and outside of his organisation. He dominated the UN sources cited in the paper, eclipsing the Security Council and representatives of other UN related agencies such as the World Health Organisation and other international organisations such as NATO (See Table 19).

**Table 19: United Nations News Sources**

Dr Bunch (UN)	2
Mr Hammarskjold (UN)	24
Mr Mackenzie Pallock (World Health Organisation)	1
Mr McDonnell (International Civil Aviation)	1
Mr Spaak (Nato General Secretary)	1
The United Nations Security Council	10

The relations and tensions between the United Nations and other political actors such as the Soviet Union, the United States and Congolese leaders featured. .

Russia used its veto once again in the Security Council early this morning, this time to defeat a western motion designed to promote humane policies in the Congo. Two resolutions, one sponsored by Russia and the other, somewhat less sweeping, sponsored by Poland, the common object of which was to bring about the immediate release of Mr Lumumba, were then defeated by majority votes of the 11 nations council (*The Times*, December 15, 1960, p.8).

Mr Bomboko today gave the United Nations until tomorrow to hand over Mr Lumumba to the Mobutu forces. He said at a Press Conference that the Congolese Army was prepared to fight the United Nations in order to arrest Mr Lumumba, and if the United Nations did not give him up by 3pm tomorrow the Army would 'accept its responsibilities'. He declared: 'If the United Nations fights, the Congolese Army will fight them.' (*The Times*, October 11, 1960, p.12).

Mr Hammarskjold appealed to member states to avoid using the United Nations operations in the Congo as the pawns in games for unrelated purposes. And he emphatically repudiated the Soviet allegations of pro-Western or pro-Belgian bias on the part of the United Nations operation in that country. The resolution which Russia voted has been co-sponsored by Argentina, Britain, Italy and the United States. It disapproved of all violations of human rights by any person in the Congo asked that Red Cross representatives be allowed to examine all persons detained in any part of the Congo and requested the Secretary General to continue his efforts to assist the Republic of the Congo to restore law and order ... (*The Times*, December 15, 1960, p.8).

UN protection of Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba in light of accusations that Lumumba was a communist generated several stories in the sample period.

Mr Bomboko said today that the Soviet Union had sent plane loads of arms and ammunition to the Congo under an agreement it had with Mr Lumumba. Mr Bomboko told a press conference here that documents proving this would soon be published by the governing technical commission in the Congo. These documents he said were more far-reaching than others made public by the commission yesterday including a letter over Mr Lumumba's signature calling for direct Soviet aid ... (*The Times*, September 30, 1960, p.10).

Mr Bomboko who met the press after an hour's telephone conversation with Leopoldville said 'documents we have discovered prove that some countries have tried to interfere in our internal affairs.

These were released by Colonel Mobutu yesterday. 'These documents refer to the military help that was to have been supplied to Lumumba by the Soviet Union. They also show that the aircraft the Soviet Union sent to the Congo were loaded with arms and ammunition. But there are more far-reaching documents agreements for the supply of arms. Mr Bomboko said photographic copies of the documents which were not all of Congolese origin' (*The Times*, September 30, 1960, p.10).

Congolese troops backing Colonel Mobutu today acted against supporters of Mr Lumumba arresting two of his Ministers and a number of others. Both Ministers Mr Jason Sendwe and Mr Anicet Kashamura, Information Ministers were later released. But a number of youth movements who were found with revolvers and machetes were kept in goal. Armed Soldiers early this morning burst into a Leopoldville Hotel, banging with rifle butts on several doors before finding the room occupied by Mr Sandwe who heads the opposition to President Tshombe in the breakaway province of Katanga. They also seized Mr Kashamura. The arrests offered by Colonel Mobutu's student council' follow a wave of violence and hooliganism which Mr Lumumba's enemies allege has been organised by his party's youth movement. Yesterday a curfew was imposed after bands of youths had been seen roving the city breaking into empty houses (*The Times*, October 20, 1960, p.10).

*The Times* also reported the alleged involvement of the UN mission in the killing of Congolese.

Baluba tribesmen were reported today to have massacred at least 20 Africans in three attacks on a train guarded by Swedish troops of the United Nations, which was taking schoolchildren home for the New Year holiday ... many people were injured (*The Times*, December 29, 1960; p.6).

*The Times* reported the fact that the on-going unrest, disorder and tribal wars worsened as many Congolese died of illnesses related to hunger and lack of hygiene in most cases.

Today he was confronted with a state of affairs where, for example, between 250,000 and 300, 000 people were 'actually starving' in South Kasai with an estimated 200 people dying daily from starvation (*The Times*, December 15, 1960, p.8).

The suffering of the indigenous people was also covered.

The United Nations are stepping up relief measuring in South Kasai province, where refugees victims of tribal fighting between the Lulus and the Balubas are dying of hunger at the rate of 200 a day... at one 150 bed hospital at Miabi there were 1,100 patients, mostly women and children suffering from malnutrition or simple starvation (*The Times*, December 23, 1960, p.7).

### ***Business***

*The Times'* business news in 1960 centred on Katanga region which was also one of the concerns of the King Leopold II prior to the annexation of the Congo Free State to the Belgian administration in 1908. The cost of UN involvement in the Congo was also part of the business coverage with claims that it was becoming expensive to carry on the UN mission in the country.

The first estimate of the cost of United Nations intervention in the Congo is contained in a report by the Secretary-general, Mr. Hammarskjold published today. It shows for the second half of 1960, that is. From its inception about the middle of July up to December 31, the organisation, operation and maintenance of the United Nations force in the Congo will entail an expenditure of \$66,625,000 (nearly £24m) or almost as much as the whole 'peacetime' budget of the United Nations which, for the coming year, is estimated at \$67,500,000 (*The Times*, October 26, 1960, p.9).

The business deals between Lumumba's Government and the United States were reported despite the Prime Minister's allegiance to the Soviet Union and much was made of the Americans influence in the business market in the Congo.

There is a certain amount of scepticism in American financial circles about the new corporation headed by an American Mr Edgar Detwiler which contracted with Mr Lumumba last week was [which was meant to develop the resources of the controversial figure that some experts opposed on the basis that] the Congo does not need a grandiose hydro-electric project but a vigorous programme of education. However it is admitted that if Mr Detwiler's project [is accepted], it could be fine for everyone except the Russians. It is exactly the sort of adventure in private enterprise that Americans profess to admire and it could bring great political advantages without being a political move even if it did look a little as though the Americans were swallowing the whole country (*The Times*, July 25, 1960, p.8).

*The Times* reported that foreign interference had an impact on the economic development of the country. The resource rich region of Katanga which had broken away from the rest of the country was central of the business stories. Occupied by Moise Tshombe and his tribal supporters Katanga was a treasured goal for external parties to the conflict.

The secession of Katanga which the premier had earlier announced would take place this evening will deprive the Congo of its richest province and of all hope of economic viability (*The Times*, July 12, 1960, p.12).

*The Times* reported that Belgian and the Rhodesian intervention and support for Mr Tshombe was for economic reasons rather than to keep peace in the region, the public justification for the action.

The Union Miniere, the Belgian company which runs the Katanga mines, announced today that its mines were at a standstill, their white executives being preoccupied with conveying their families to Rhodesia. The hydro-

electronic plants were also at a standstill and electric current was being supplied from Northern Rhodesia ... (*The Times*, July 12, 1960, p.12).

### ***Post-Colonial Representations and Stereotypes***

The reporting in 1960 witnessed a change in the labelling of indigenous people, with labels such as Negroes and inferior race disappearing. Reference to Africans and Congolese replaced them. Changes in the language used to describe Westerners who were now referred to as Europeans, Western powers, Western nations and even imperialists. The label white was less prevalent. Both Westerners and Congolese had the label 'refugees' applied to them. The Congo was overwhelmingly referred to a place of violence, chaos and famine. Disorder was tied to the inefficiency of local leaders. Congolese new leaders could not run their own country.

**Table 20: Postcolonial Representations**

<b><i>Representation</i></b>	<b><i>Frequency</i></b>	<b><i>Percentage</i></b>
Congolese	95	44.6%
Violence	55	25.8%
Africans	42	19.7%
Europeans	20	9.3%
Elections	13	6.1%
Refugees	13	6.1%
Chaos/Confusion	6	2.8%
Famine	6	2.8%
Western imperialists	5	2.3%
Western Powers	5	2.8%
Western Nations	5	2.8%
White	4	1.4%
Rape	3	1.4%
Black	1	0.4%

The people of the Congo were overwhelmingly described as Congolese or Africans although tribal names were sometimes used for example,

A big crowd of Europeans and Africans ... (*The Times*, January 2, 1960, p.5).



...the December elections having been boycotted by the Abako. (*The Times*, January 7, 1960, p.8).

The reference to refugees is interesting as it is a label usually applied to Africans in previous research – here *The Times* uses the label to apply to both Europeans and Africans.

European refugees tonight streamed into Leopoldville from the mutiny-torn areas of the Congo, bringing with them tales of African soldiers breaking into houses and raping white women. The mutiny now seems to have resolved itself into a general purge of Belgian officers of the 25,000 strong Congolese Army and there were reports of widespread appointments of Congolese officers (*The Times*, July 7, 1960, p.12).

These African women travelled 80 miles from Sinoia to Salisbury today ... We all felt we should help the little children and women among the refugees ... (*The Times*, August 1, 1960, p.9).

However, the overwhelming motif for the reporting in 1960 was the violence endemic in the situation and by default in Congolese Society.

The provincial Government said that about 200 huts had been burnt after clashes between Lulus and Balubas, (*The Times*, July 6, 1960, p.11).

Reports of attacks on Indian Army in Leopoldville Mr Nerhu described the attack as a very serious matter ... (*The Times*, November 25, 1960, p.9).

Seven soldiers have been killed and seven wounded tonight ... (*The Times*, November 22, 1960, p.10)

Tshombe of Katanga and Albert Kalonji have both accepted the principles of cease-fire (*The Times*, September 12, 1960, p.10).

It is estimated that between 200 and 300 people were killed in Bakwanga this week up to Wednesday afternoon. (*The Times*, September 3, 1960, p.6).

Reports of fighting are unreliable in details in Luluabourg ...So far the United Nations troops have not become involved in the dispute ... (*The Times*, August 2, 1960, p.8).

#### 5.4 *The Times and the Modern Congo (2006)*

Unlike the events of 1960 the first free and fair elections in an independent Congo gained less coverage in *The Times* newspaper. It also attracted no commentary. There were letters or editorials on the topic and the newspaper published only 38 news stories. There were 20 articles on pre-election campaigns and election excitements for the Congolese who were going to vote for the first time. There were eight articles on violence which included clashes and rebellions, two on vote rigging which is seen as corruption, two on witchcraft, two on coup arrest, two on starvation and poverty, one on spreading disease Ebola and one on business (See Table 21).

**Table 21: Modern Congo News Themes**

Business	1
Coup arrest	2
Elections	20
Spreading disease(Ebola)	1
Starvation	2
Violence	8
Vote rigging/Corruption	2
Witchcraft/poverty	2 <sup>21</sup>

The news stories were written by a range of named correspondents, as well as agency sources such as AFP (Agence France Press) and Reuters (See table 22)

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<sup>21</sup> Witchcraft and poverty are put together because parents who cannot look after their children get rid of them by accusing them of witchcraft. See *The Times*, November 21,p.31).

**Table 22: Modern Congo News authors/By-lines**

Anonymous	2
AFP (Agency France Press)	3
AP (Associated Press)	7
Chris Johnston	1
John Swain	1
Jonathan Clayton	10
Isabel Matheson	1
Levis Smith & Mark Wright	1
Matthew Green	1
Michael Hornell	1
Peter Nicholas	1
Richard Hoskins	1
Reuters	6
Sam Kelley	1
Toby More	1

Unlike in previous years the sources directly cited reflected a broader range of actors, including a number ordinary Congolese. The primary sources of information for the election stories were official Congolese source including the Congolese Defence Ministry, Congolese Electoral Commission and Congolese Supreme Court. Most of these sources were on the record. (See table 23).

**Table 23: Modern Congo Direct Sources**

Abbe Malumalu (Electoral Commission)	1
Mr Baybay Ange (Congolese Judge)	1
Mr Bienvenu Kenny (Congolese)	1
Congolese Children	3
Congolese Defence Minister	1
Congolese Electoral Commission	1
Congolese Independent Electoral Commission	1
Congolese Supreme Court	1
Congolese Voters	1
Congolese women	1
Mr Jean Kabongo	1
Mr Jean Pierre Bemba (Opposition Politician)	9
Mr Joseph Kabila (The President)	6
Lieutenant Colonel Conrad Thorpe (British)	1
Dr Kashala (Congolese Presidential candidate)	1
Mr Molobo (Congolese)	1

Mr Mwamba (Congolese)	1
Unnamed Congolese Church Pastor	1
Unnamed Congolese police man	1
Unnamed Congolese army general	1
Unnamed Wildlife experts	1

## *Politics*

The stories were dominated by the election preparations and excitement of ordinary people who had for the first time the chance to choose their leaders. The first results of the elections came out in July and the run off results were announced in November this same year. However, there were accusations of corruption and vote rigging from the side of the incumbent president Joseph Kabila. *The Times* reported ordinary Congolese going to vote for their leaders themselves for the first time which was different from 1960 where only those who belonged to a political party went to vote as opposed to ordinary Congolese.

‘I have never voted before in my life but I have always wanted to’, Mr Kenny beamed as he walked out of the polling station in the centre of the Congolese capital, Kinshasa, yesterday. Mr Kenny was one of the first to arrive outside Lycee Bosangani, an old Belgian School at 6am, an hour before its doors opened, a little later than scheduled. We were some of the first to vote but it was worth it ... (*The Times*, July 31, 2006, p.26).

‘It is the first time I have been able to vote. I really did not think it would happen. Now, I cannot wait’ said a guy, 20, who wants to be mechanic but has never worked (*The Times*, July 29, 2006, p.40).

With two days to go until polling day in the Democratic Republic of Congo’s first multiparty’s election, ballot papers and boxes had still not arrived at the rundown village a few hours’ drive from Kinshasa. ‘People were beginning to think we could miss out’... Everyone here who can, has registered to vote ... The Times accompanied the electoral consignment which included

collapsible polling stations... (*The Times*, July 29, 2006, p.40).

*The Times* also reported the elections run off after the first elections.

The women ... all of them widowed through wars ... will be walking for 20 minutes to vote in a presidential run-off in the country's first free elections in more than 40 years ... we don't care about the outcome, we just don't want another blood bath... (*The Times*, October 29, 2006, p.29).

Anxious voters in the Democratic Republic of Congo cast ballots yesterday in a presidential run of that a peaceful outcome would end decades of misrule, brutality and greed. In Kinshasa once known as Kin la Belle (Kinshasa the beautiful) but now more like a huge open sewer, polling stations opened late...(*The Times*, Monday, October 30, 2006, p.29).

*The Times* reported that the cost of the elections which according to them were one of the most expensive to be organised by the United Nations and the European Union. However, their conduct was by and large praised by observers.

Early indications were that the largest and most expensive election organised by the UN was going smoothly. Polling Stations reported occasional missing lists and some people claimed that they were turned away on false pretences (*The Times*, July 31, 2006, p.26).

The international community in support of the Transition in the DRC said they had the 'means to dissuade' the using of force to challenge the results of the July 30 presidential and parliamentary elections (*The Times*, August 4, 2006.p.41).

But again, in spite of these aspects of the elections, *The Times* gave coverage to violence and tribal clashes, including both between the Congolese themselves and by Congolese rebels attacks on the UN peacekeeping mission in the Eastern part of the

country. Violence among supporters of the two main Congolese presidential candidates Mr Jean Pierre Bemba and Mr Joseph Kabil was fully reported. .

The European Union drone that crashed over Kinshasa last week while monitoring elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo was shot down, it emerged yesterday. It was deliberate act, Ingrid Beck, a spokeswoman from Belgium which supplied the drone. A small calibre bullet had hit the drone, causing it to break up and crash into a house in the capital ... (*The Times*, August 4, 2006.p.41).

Eight Guatemala UN troops were killed and fourteen ambush in Garamba Park. Rebels from Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army are known to operate in the area (*The Times*, January 24, 2006, p.34).

A soldier guarding Jean Pierre Bemba, a leading candidate in the Democratic Republic of Congo's presidential election was killed with the guard of his main rival President Kabila last night after provisional results showed that the two would have to enter a run off (*The Times*, August 21, 2006, p.34).

*The Times* also reported that business went on in the Congo as usual with Chinese business men who brought in and flooded the Congolese markets with cheap and low standard products for sale (*The Times*, July 22, 2006, p.23).

On the outskirts of this rundown African capital, the new Sino-Congolese commercial centre boasts row upon row of Chinese made television sets and microwave ovens ... at a price below that of the second hand European goods on sale in the teeming African market outside ...' (*The Times*, September 2, 2006, p.44).

Stories of violence were accompanied by reports of the poverty, corruption and starvation in the country.

A Congolese general has been accused of diverting militia food trains for personal business after 20 soldiers died from starvation ... (*The Times*, March 17, 2006, p. 41).

Kendoki, the Congolese term for sorcery is whispered as frequently as it is in Kinshasa or Luanda, the capital of neighbouring Angola. A series of high profile child abuse cases culminated in the brutal child B story last June alerted the authorities to the possibility that African preachers were branding children as witches and encouraging parents to beat the evil spirits out of them or send them back to Africa for exorcism ... (*The Times*, November 21, 2006, p.31).

From the texts analysed, poverty and corruption were connected. The wealth of those in power was contrasted with the under-development of the country. Poverty was also associated with a number of other social problems. *The Times* reported on witchcraft and parents who accused their children of the practice because of poverty.

Grinding poverty has led thousands of parents to reject their children and denounce them as sorcerers. Cedric Rodrick was 8 yrs old when the village turned against him. After his father was killed in an accident, an uncle denounced him and his brother as 'witches'... I knew I was not a witch, they only did that because they didn't want to look after us ...' (*The Times*, November 27, 2006, p.30).

However the focus in the *The Times* reporting was on violence. Rebellions, killings, ethnic clashes and tension and fighting between supporters of both presidential candidates, Joseph Kabila and Jean Pierre Bemba, appeared.

Congo is on civil war after is on civil war after supporters of the President Joseph Kabila and his main election rival Jean Pierre Bemba fought on the streets of the capital for the third day. Fighting broke out when the independent electoral commission announced that the country's election on July 30 had proved inclusive and that the two would have to face a run-off (Anonymous author, *The Times*, August 23, 2006, p.31).

The former rebel who lost Congo presidential election has been claiming he will not resort to violence and plunge the sprawling central African country back into chaos Jean Pierre Bemba vowed to the people ...the

election result has to be formalised by the end of this month (*The Times*, November 20, 2006, p.34).

Violence took a number of forms such as the report of the killing of wild animals in the park by villages and poachers.

Today Conrad Thorpe, the former British officer finds himself on the frontline of a very different sort of war. He lives in the jungles of the war – torn Democratic Republic of Congo battling to stop poachers killing the last few Northern white Rhino left on the planet (*The Times*, May 20, 2006, p.3).

In echoes of 1885 *The Times* reported the Congo as a dangerous destination as a warning to the British public.

Britons planning to visit the Democratic Republic of Congo were warned not to go to its North-eastern and Eastern parts because of ‘continued insecurity and lawlessness in these areas. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office also advised that only essential visits should be made to the rest of the country. (*The Times*, July 5, 2006, p.4).

The stereotypes that appeared regularly in 2006 centred on child exploitation, witchcraft, rebel, civil war and disease (see table 24). Sentences from *The Times*. The language used reinforced stereotypical representations: for example, UN troops ‘killed’, Kinshasa is like ‘a huge open sewer’, ‘Sorcery is in the streets’.

**Table 24: Modern Congo’s Stereotype**

Modern stereotypes	Frequency	Percentage
Child exploitation	14	38%
Poverty	13	36%
Witchcraft (black magic)	12	33%
Rebels	10	21%
Civil war	5	13%
Peace Deals	2	5.5%
Ceasefire	1	2.5%
Dangerous destination	1	2.5%
Spreading disease (Ebola)	1	2.5%
International Justice	1	2.5%



### ***5.5. Evolution of the representation of the Congo and its peoples***

The research findings show how the representation of the Congo in *The Times* evolved from 1885 to 2006. There were changes in the language and discourse used to refer to Congo and its people. In year 1885 *The Times* referred to the Congo as a dangerous place, a dark location and the land of slavery but also a place that was good for business opportunities that needed to be exploited by the great Powers. European countries were referred to as the 'great powers' even when the countries involved had names such as Britain, Portugal, France, Germany, Belgium and the United States of America. Congolese people were primarily referred to as 'natives' even when they had a country which was called the Congo Free State. The label 'natives' implied backward, primitive and barbaric from the understanding of the language used in the text. The natives were described to be hostile and wild but who became friendly as soon as they were civilised and evangelised by Western missionaries. Virtually all the authors of the stories and commentaries as well as the sources cited were westerners.

The year 1908 was the year of annexation in which the Congo became a colony of the Belgian government, replacing the Free State of King Leopold. In this period *The Times* referred to the Congo as a place of slavery, exploitation, forced labour, abuses and injustice which was similar to the previous period. However, this time the need for Western justice, civilisation, education and Christian charity was more urgent and genuine. This was in response to the injustices perpetrated by the Free State, documented and brought to the attention of publics around the world by campaigning organisations such as the Congo Reform Society. The success of this campaign was as much to do with providing justice for the indigenous as it was to do with the colonial rivalries between the 'great powers'. Much of the coverage focussed on the political debate within Belgium about annexation and the international negotiations around the demise of the Free State. The implications for Britain and the imperial endeavour were recorded. The plight of the Congolese was a matter of genuine concern. The iniquities and barbarities of perpetrated by King

Leopold's Free State, especially slavery and forced labour system were reported. They had been brought to the paper's attention by the campaign organised by the Congo Reform Association and other Anglo-Saxon activists led by E.D. Morel. The motives of the campaign were sometimes questioned but *The Times* did provide accounts of the injustices and atrocities committed against the Congolese people. Despite this heightened sensitivity to the local peoples they were not cited as direct sources themselves. Their plight was articulated by westerners who continued to dominate the production and sourcing of the paper's coverage. The Congolese peoples continued to be referred to as natives and Negroes in this period.

The year 1960 witnessed some changes in the coverage. The country's independence witnessed the emergence of local leaders who were part of an indigenous elite which took over the reigns of power. For the first time named local sources were cited such Patrice Lumumba, Mr Kasavubu, Moise Tshombe and Colonel Mobutu. Hardly any coverage was provided of ordinary Congolese. The Congolese are now referred to as Congolese and Africans rather than as natives or Negroes or simply blacks as it was apparent in the previous periods. These leaders were, however, are represented as unfit to take over the reigns of power; inexperienced, corrupt and venal. The bulk of the sources cited, however, continued to be westerners, especially representatives of the former colonial masters, Belgium, and the superpowers who saw the civil war which emerged from the embers of decolonisation as part of the Cold War.

The year 2006, when ordinary Congolese people voted for their leaders for the first time in the history of the country, found the coverage of the elections drawn significantly from Congolese sources. Ordinary Congolese were also cited; usually unnamed, they provided a view of the events from a perspective that had not appeared in previous periods. Reference to them was relatively limited, but does represent the development of a trend in who appears and who speaks in the news about the Congo in *The Times* between 1885 and 2006. However, throughout the periods examined news and comment are still primarily from a western perspective.

The western dominance is reflected in the production of the news stories which are mainly from their own correspondents or news agencies. The newspaper

relied heavily on its own correspondents and agency copy for news about the country. Local agencies or national news agencies do not figure prominently and the trend to more dependence on agency copy is not supported. As a newspaper of record, *The Times* throughout this period sought to use material from its own reporters as much as possible.

Most the findings highlight similarities in the coverage. The bulk of the stories and commentaries in each period are about politics and above all the international dimension to the events that were taking place in the Congo. How they impacted on Britain and British interests, economic and political, made up most of the reporting and commentaries in the newspaper. Most of the representations of the Congo and its people were negative, as were a lot of the stories. The main form of representation was to focus on violence. The Congo is mainly portrayed as a place of violence, danger, poverty and backwardness. Each period finds a slightly different take on violence. In 1885 the potential dangers to western explorers and businessmen are reported, whereas in 1908 it is the violence perpetrated by the representatives of the Free State against indigenous people that frames the coverage. In 1960 a variety of violent images occur around the conflict and unrest in the country including references to rape, refugees and ethnic disorder. The interesting features of the 1960 reporting was that refugees could be white Europeans, while the other main subject was the violence perpetrated against them by local peoples in the wake of the disorder and unrest that beset the country when the colonial authorities vacated the country. In 2006 the refugees were indigenous, usually fleeing unrest and violence following the elections.

The Congolese are represented as backward, primitive and unable to adjust to the modern world. Their inferiority is manifest in different ways: from their needs for the benefits of western civilisation, values and beliefs in 1885, through to their inability to run their own affairs in 1960, and their strange practices in 2006 (such as child exploitation and witchcraft). They more often than not appear as victims - victims of their poverty, violence or backwardness.

## *Summary*

This chapter has presented the findings of the study's examination of *The Times* coverage of the Congo from the selected years: 1885, 1908, 1960 and 2006. The findings demonstrate that while there are some differences in the coverage in each of these periods there are some consistent themes, sources and forms of representation. The reporting has clearly been shown to be negative and the overwhelming majority of the stories were written from western perspectives. Most of the coverage is focused on politics and in particular the international politics of the Congo was the primary topic in each period of analysis. Much of the political coverage focussed on external interventions rather than internal issues, and preference was given to foreign actors over the indigenous people of the country. Western sources predominated. While there were changes in terms of the balance between western and indigenous sources – over the years the latter were increasingly used in stories – the reporting was dependent on western voices and actors who largely framed and informed the newspapers reporting of the events on the ground in the country. There was greater likelihood that local sources would be more critical treated but in different periods the colonial power, Belgium, was subject to critical comment such as during de-colonisation in 1960 and the annexation of the Free State in 1908. Most stories and commentaries were generated by *The Times* own staff, agency copy or correspondents, reinforcing the western perspective on news from the Congo.

Much of the representation of the country was stereotypical. Violence was the dominant form of representation in each period, and in which bad news regularly prevailed. The nature of the violence varied, reflecting the sensibilities of each period, but overwhelmingly the Congo was reported from the prism of war, conflict and unrest. The victims and perpetrators of the violence tended to be indigenous people, but in 1908 and 1960 the transgressions and atrocities committed by the colonial powers were reported. The victims of this violence in 1960 were likely to be Europeans as much as Africans, thereby distinguishing the coverage from previous periods and research. The role of external actors such as the UN and Soviet interventions in the spread of violence across the country is also reported and represented. Violence is, however, represented as endemic to the country and, with

some exceptions, the product of the tribal, political and other deficiencies of the local culture.

The cultural inferiority of the Congolese is reproduced, albeit in slightly different ways in each period. The backwardness of the people in 1885 is manifest in the assumption that the country and its people are in need of western civilisation, education and evangelisation. The language used to describe the 'natives' reinforces this portrayal. In 1885 the injustices and atrocities committed by the Free State against the Congolese people are reported but they done in a paternalistic way. The indigenous people do not get to speak for themselves and the resolution to their situation is in the hands of better colonial rule. In 1960 local elites appear in the reporting but they are overwhelmingly portrayed in a negative fashion, representatives of tribal interests and divisions, prone to violence and corruption. Similarly, in 2006, stories of strange practices such as witchcraft reinforce a notion of cultural inferiority.

## **Chapter Six: Discussion of the Findings**

### ***Introduction***

This chapter discusses the findings that have emerged from the study of *The Times* over the years selected. It refers to the different explanations that have been put forward to account for the nature of the reporting of Africa in the western media, focussing on cultural production and news gathering approaches to account for the selection of what is newsworthy. It analyses the similarities and the differences in each period and identifies gaps and silences in the coverage. The chapter examines the findings from each period before making comparisons between them. Attention is paid to the criteria of newsworthiness and the nature of news values in relation to the research on the Western media coverage of Third World countries. Michira (2002) identifies the coverage of the western media as shaped by several factors: profit and commercial motives; the West's dominance of global culture; the foreign policy interests of western governments and the narrow cultural perspective and understanding of western audiences. The nature of the specific framing of Africa is attributed to the legacy of colonialism, which can be traced in varying ways throughout *The Times* coverage of the Congo. As this study is not just a snapshot like many other pieces of research in this area (see Alleyne 1997, Ankonah 2008, Fair 1998, Mengara 2001, Michira 2002 and Palmer 2006) it enables us to place the representations of Africa in the western media in a broader historical context.

### ***6.1. Basics findings***

The basic findings of the research accord with the thrust of the research examined in Chapter Three. The image of the Congo in *The Times* is primarily negative and narrowly drawn. Much of the representations in the different periods examined focus around themes identified in previous research, such as the lack of coverage of indigenous people, which is noteworthy. While the voices of the people of the Congo have increased over the periods identified, they are still limited in framing the

discussion of the problems that face their country. Much of the coverage focuses on western actors and their opinions about the ability and capacity of indigenous people and the state of the political situation in their country. This is striking in 1908, when the Congo Reform Association brought considerable attention to the human rights abuses in the country. The reporting of these abuses and their impact on the people of the Congo was noteworthy for the almost total absence of Congolese voices. The voices of the western campaigners dominated. The failings of Africans and African political systems (Michira 2002) are reflected in the focus on the inability of the Congolese to govern and administer themselves and their country. The people of the Congo are deemed in different ways, to be incapable. From their perceived backwardness in 1885 to their lack of experience of administration and their low levels of educational achievement in 1960, the Congolese are represented as unfit to fully participate in the political process.

Tribal disputes are, in the various periods, apparently the root cause of the instability and underdevelopment of Africa. African scholar, Ekeh (2007:108) states: 'tribalism is a term used in most of post-colonial Africa to denote animosities between members of different ethnic groups. By its very nature, tribalism is a de-radicalised construct'. The imposition of western rule or the intervention of western influence is often justified in terms of the instability caused by tribal divisions. These are often manifested in bloodthirsty and barbaric actions and practices. The 'primitive' aspect of African society is acknowledged less in later coverage, but is never far from the surface in accounting for war and warfare on the continent.

*The Times* reporting of the Congo reflects this, with the cruelty of the continent touched on in each period. It is also the case – as identified by other researchers, for instance, Alleyne (1997) – that there is little context or background provided to the reporting and very few positive news features. Few positive stories emerge and when they do it is often to praise the capacity of western interests to contribute to the development of Africa. The backdrop to the reporting remains the notion of Africa as the 'dark continent'; many of the stories in the different periods examined focus on slavery, backward traditions, superstition and the problems of living in the jungle, depicted as a wild and dangerous environment. Above all there

is a preponderance of reporting of death, destruction and violence. This is, as Fair (1993), Michira (2002), Ankonah (2008) and Simonsen (2010)<sup>22</sup> note in their discussions of Africa in the western media, clearly ‘endemic’ in the coverage of the Congo by *The Times* since 1885. Before discussing such a framework in more detail, and in particular looking at different explanations for this, the study examines the coverage in each period.

### ***The Times and Pre-colonial Coverage (1885)***

The focus of the coverage in 1885 was the ‘creation’ and ‘construction’ of Africa at the Berlin Conference where the western powers divided up the continent between themselves. The articles in the newspaper referred to economic expansion, the promotion of civilisation and the propagation of the gospel. Underpinning these was the notion of the superiority of the West. The discourse about the Congo in the newspaper in 1885 is that of the colonial or imperial sense of mission. Some authors (such as Pieterse 1992) argue that the financial and the “mental” superiority of Europeans provided them with the rationale for the successful conquest of the African continent and its peoples. It gave them an arrogance which helped to propel their forward march throughout the continent. Collins (1969: 2) says the European technological pre-eminence and sense of national superiority were the foundations for conquering, ruling and exploiting African natives with impunity. This is reflected in *The Times* reporting in this period, which saw the newspaper share and on occasion extol the basic values of British and European imperialism. There is little critical comment of imperialism and colonialism, which remain a major cause of many problems on the African continent to date. The *Times* shared with British public opinion in this period the sense that colonialism was part of a sense of mission that led Britain and other European countries to intervene in Africa and other parts of the world, such as Asia and Latin America. This was arguably motivated by the stifling conformity of European society in which the Church dominated, not only in

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<sup>22</sup> See Chapter 3



regard to what men and women believed, but also what they thought about and how they behaved (Curran 1982:209).

This framework of cultural-political justification manifested itself in various ways. One of the more benign was the sense of bringing Christianity to the continent; bringing indigenous natives into the Christian fold (Hochschild 1999: 38; see also Daye 1909). The newspaper reflected in its reporting the need to bring civilisation and Christianity to Africa. Evangelisation, on one hand, was seen as a way of furthering co-operation with the indigenous peoples, though additionally it was seen as helping to uplift inferior races; as Said (1993: 25) put it:

To manage the colonised peoples for their economic and political benefit, the colonial powers sought to propagate the perception of their cultural superiority.

Some researchers, such as Mphahlele (1962), Mudimbe (1988) and Golan (2008) have explored the idea that Europe's occupation of Africa was rationalised by arrogant thinking, and that these nations had a duty and an obligation to explore and colonise the African continent. *The Times* in its reporting in 1885 appears to provide a discourse that accepts that Britain had a duty to intervene and occupy the African continent.<sup>23</sup>

Exploration, however, was a matter of controversy in the newspaper. This controversy focussed on the debate between explorers about the manpower, means and methods of exploration rather than the rights and wrongs of intervening in someone else's country. This was centred on one man, H.M. Stanley. His close associations with the King of the Belgians and his employment by American newspapers made him a focus of critical comments, particularly in the letters columns. His remarks about the ability and capacity of white men to survive in the African jungles and plains – which seemed to imply that thin skinned white men are best suited to exploration – were commented on with considerable hostility by many other explorers and travellers to Africa from Britain.

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<sup>23</sup> See Chapter Five; Britain was part of the Congo Association, which included Belgium, Britain, Germany, and the United States.

Much of this debate reflected the competition between the European powers to carve up the world and the competitive world of exploration, which required explorers to raise money for their ventures from private sources. Criticising and discrediting each other seemed to be a part of the process of exploration. Much of the coverage seemed to focus on Africa as an untapped source of raw materials for European industries and as a target for European business interests. The economic motivation of colonialism, which has been stressed in the scholarly literature (see Anstey 1966; Slade 1962; Zins 1998), is reflected in the coverage.

The focus is on the gains for the imperial powers; the impact on the well-being of the people, the economic structures of societies already in place, or the rate of political and economic growth of the countries invaded was barely touched on. Rather, there was never an insight into the impact of the economic changes on the African peoples. The focus is what was good for British business and commercial interests. The dividing up of Africa is portrayed as good for business and Britain, and the political-economic advantages are stressed. In this period the particular circumstances of King Leopold II's rule of the Congo is not questioned. His philanthropic motives for establishing a personal state in the Congo are accepted, and seen as good for British and other western business interests associated with the King. There is limited critical comment on Leopold or his political administration of the country. The contours of the coverage appear similar to today's reporting of the African continent.

Almost universally, the reporting is from the western perspective: it is dominated by western sources, either *The Times* own reporters or agency copy. The anonymity of those who wrote the articles makes for some difficulties in assessing the extent to which western voices framed the reporting, but it is clear that western sources and western authors prevailed in *The Times* reporting of the Congo in 1885. This reporting reflects many of the stereotypical representations associated with the coverage of Africa by the western media. King Leopold II of the Belgians and his business associates were reported as interested in the Congo for resources and profits – although their justification that they were bringing civilisation and Christianity was also reported. The stereotypes found in *The Times* coverage of the Congo during

this period are familiar; they focus on the primitive and barbaric actions of an inferior race, usually described as natives and Negroes. The Congo is a land to explore, to exploit, to develop, to civilise and to evangelise. Christianity, civilisation and commerce went hand-in-hand; as Smith (1980:25) pointed out, the notion of delivering civilisation hid the economic and political interests, as well as the use of force, violence and sometimes wholesale genocide that drove colonial conquest. The economic motive was closely tied to the work of the Christian missionaries, for whom Christianity and capitalism went seamlessly together. Stanley was a news reporter, but the information he collected and disseminated was undertaken within a conceptual framework which celebrated 'the pursuit of loot, markets and Christian faith' (Ibid). Thus, civilisation, exploration and religion were used to justify the occupation and European presence in the African continent and the Congo in particular.

Much of the reporting focussed on politics and above all the international politics of western intervention in the Congo. This political reporting never touched on the problems, concerns or perspectives of indigenous peoples; it was concentrated on the struggles between the western powers to divide up Africa (Wesseling 1996). *The Times* reported the perspective of the British government; indicating as it had done throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century its close ties to the powers that be. Editors like Barnes and Delane stressed their close connections with government circles and their ability to provide insight into government policy and thinking (see Clarke 2004).

According to Davidson (1978:99), the Congo Free State was not a colonised state and scarcely a state at all. It was the King's fiefdom which was administered neither in the interests of the natives, nor even in the economic interests of Belgium. The regulator of its administrative action was to win maximum revenue for the King and his business associates, which does not come out in *The Times* coverage of the year 1885.

### *The Times coverage of the colonial period (1908)*

Politics again dominated the reporting in *The Times* in 1908, but the nature of the coverage was far more implicitly critical of colonial intervention. The atrocities committed by King Leopold's administration in the search for quick monetary returns for his investment figured. The disclosure of the atrocities committed by the Congo Free State to the world was a product of a concerted campaign by the Congo Reform Association to influence British public opinion as well as international opinion, especially in France through the French League for the Defence of the Natives, and the United States of America. This campaign eventually led to the birth of the new colony, the Belgian Congo, in 1908. This campaign was intertwined with a stark debate inside Belgium about the future of the Congo Free State. During King Leopold's regime in the Congo Free State from 1885 to 1908, thousands of western travellers and missionaries visited the Congo, but only a few spoke publicly about the atrocities witnessed. *The Times* did not cover the fact that Christian missionaries led the way in bringing the brutality of King Leopold's men to the world's attention. As Edgerton (2002: 112) points out, there were Portuguese and Italian Capuchin missionaries, all of whom were Roman Catholic, but they soon lost influence and were eventually outnumbered by Protestants.

Protestant missionaries had established themselves, and most sought support from their congregations, including donations of money by portraying the Africans they had come to 'save' as uncivilised, debauched, ignorant, diseased, naked, and benighted. Somehow and fortunately, they promised, through Christianity, Africans' salvation was near at hand. These Congo missionaries came from a variety of religious groups: Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Mormons, Seventh Day Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses had established missions in the Congo (Edgerton 2002:13). All can be said to have made a largely positive impact in the Congo, in contrast to the European traders, soldiers, and administrators, but the great irony was that they perpetuated the portrayal of

Africans as savages by writing constantly about African cannibalism, lust, depravity, and the forces of darkness.

Nowhere were missionaries in Africa more appalled by these 'forces of darkness' than in the Congo. An example can be taken from the Swedish missionaries who were sent to the Congo. Scandinavians made up 16 percent of the European population in the Congo, perhaps because Belgium had no navy or merchant fleet, and relied on Scandinavian sailors, many of whom moved to the Congo. Other Scandinavians who settled in the Congo were traders, but there were many Swedish missionaries as well, most of whom initially proselytised in the Bakongo, the first kingdom to be encountered by European visitors. Some of these missionaries thought the Bakongo people were intelligent, and almost all admired the complexities of the Bakongo language, but most insisted that these 'savages' were cowardly, cruel, thievish, ungrateful, lying and selfish (Edgerton 2002:113-5).

However, as we have seen, of the visitors to the Congo a few were effective communicators and they were outspoken critics of Leopold's regime. The main critic was E.D. Morel, a British journalist and historian. His efforts to bring public attention to Leopold's atrocities were apparent in *The Times*. The Reform Association and Morel were well reported. They brought the problems to the attention of the British public and to the world stage. Stories about atrocities committed by the Free State and the white traders were covered. Leopold and his business associates were subjected to questioning, criticism and condemnation. Demands for measures to address the injustices and human right abuses in the Congo appeared.

The reporting of the plight of the indigenous inhabitants of the Congo presents a different view of colonialism. The excesses of colonial power are apparent as are the efforts of campaigners in Britain, France, the US and other parts of Europe to draw attention to these injustices. The Congo Reform Association is accorded its key place in bringing about the demise of the Free State. It is an important source in the reporting, acknowledging its role in modern history as the organ which roused the conscience of the world against the merciless exploitation of African people and the annexation of the Congo to Belgium. There is no reference found to key figures such

as the Association's founders, Roger Casement and Joseph Conrad, the novelist and most celebrated member (Zins 1998:62-64). It was Morel who appears as the most active voice from the Association in *The Times* in uncovering the exploitative character of the Congo Free State and Leopold's ruthless methods. It is from the Casement report on the Congo, published in 1903 for the British government, that the impact of the colonial administration on the local people was documented. Casement's report showed the massive decline of many communities under the rule of the Free State. After the publication of the report Casement came across bodily mutilation which increased the urgency of the demands for reform. Casement produced a sixty-one page record of his journey up the Congo River for the British Foreign Office, replete with documentary evidence, giving shocking proof of the atrocities committed. The exploitation of African labour by European colonists then became part of the story. This campaign, however, should be seen in the context of the political debate inside Belgium and the attitude of the British government to the colonial development of the Congo.

Within Belgium there was a bitter debate between Leopold's supporters and opponents. The pressure was on the Belgian government to annex the Free State. The Belgian government, however, did not possess the legal authority to divest Leopold of his fiefdom, and thus was forced to purchase the Congo from Leopold and also to promise an annual payment 'as a mark of gratitude for his great "sacrifices" made for the Congo' (Hochschild 1999:259). *The Times* reported the debate inside Belgium in relative detail. It also paid attention to the possible economic opportunities that the change presented for Britain and British interests. The newspaper emphasised that the Congo was one the world's largest copper-producing countries and that cobalt extraction in Katanga represented 75 percent of the entire world production. The Congolese wealth and resources had always been the main attraction of Belgium, and with Leopold removed, the corporations were given more control and influence over the economy in the Congo. The United Mines Company of Upper Katanga known as the UMHK<sup>24</sup> Company, in which Belgium, Britain and America were main shareholders, was founded shortly after Leopold's

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<sup>24</sup> L'Union Miniere de Katanga; see Chapter Five.

reign ended and for the next fifty years exercised the greatest influence and control over the economy and the resources within the Congo. It 'controlled about 70 percent of the economy of the Belgian Congo and controlled the exploitation of cobalt, copper, tin, uranium and zinc from mines, which were among the richest in the world' (Hochschild 1999:31; see also Edgerton 2002).

The attitude of the British Government to the policy of annexation was not straightforward. It had reacted cautiously to the publication of Casement's 1903 Congo Report. The Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, realised that the report would make 'a great noise in England' (Zins 1998:57) when it was published. However, Casement's attempt to publish the names of the oppressors and oppressed was vetoed by the British government on the grounds that it could expose the victims and witnesses of persecutions to the risk of reprisal. It was published with letters and symbols substituted for names and places. Casement's report, the creation of the Congo Reform Association and the campaign to mobilise public opinion in Britain against this colonial system contributed greatly to the eventual downfall of the Leopoldian system and the annexation of the Congo to Belgium. The effectiveness of the campaign can be seen in the way in which the reporting of *The Times* in 1908 cited spokesmen or supporters of the campaign. However, the fact that the campaign was broadly in line with British government's policy led the paper to quote from these sources more than they perhaps would have if the campaign had been in disagreement with the official line. Criticism of Leopold reflected the British government's condemnation of the King's administration in the Congo Free State, which appeared to go beyond what was considered acceptable.

Black American historian George Washington came to the Congo during King Leopold's administration, and was one of the earliest to start an open attack towards King Leopold's administration. He paved the way for Roger Casement and Joseph Conrad who came later (Edgerton 2002:122). Reverend George Washington and William Sheppard, both American missionaries, were shocked by what they found in Leopold's Congo Free State. Another American missionary working in the Congo, John B. Murphy, dispatched the following text which threw much light upon the situation of Africans in the Congo: 'Each district is forced to bring in a certain

quantity [of rubber] to the headquarters of the Commissaire every Sunday. It is collected by force; the soldiers drove the people into the bush. If they did not go, they are shot down, and their hands cut off and taken as trophies to the Commissaire.<sup>25</sup> These hands of men, women and children are placed in rows before the Commissaire, who counts them to see that the soldiers have not wasted cartridges' (Zins 1998:60).

Reverend William Sheppard, who was a graduate from Alabama, applied to the Church to be sent to the Congo as a missionary when the Church had never sent a black missionary to Africa before and it granted Sheppard's request with the provision to go there in the company of a white missionary who would be the head of mission. These two missionaries also witnessed the terrible atrocities of Leopold's Free State soldiers. After a long tour of the Congo Free State, Williams wrote an open letter addressed directly to King Leopold II with a copy to *The New York Herald* newspaper accusing King Leopold of spending not 'one' franc' for African education in the Congo Free State, but instead stealing the Africans' land, burning their villages, and enslaving their women and children, along with other terrible crimes. Williams then set out twelve specific charges to the Congo Free State: (1) it lacked the necessary moral, military, and financial strength to govern so vast an area; (2) government soldiers regularly stole from local people to secure provisions; (3) the government regularly broke its contracts with foreign soldiers, mechanics, and workmen; (4) its courts were unjust; (5) its cruelty to prisoners, who were chained and brutally whipped, was barbaric; (6) women were used for immoral purposes by the state; (7) the Free State's trade practices were unfair to other countries; (8) the Free State regularly stole from the natives, (9) raided villages to take slaves, and (10) regularly sold slaves. Two other charges alleged the creation of Arab military posts and the misrepresentation of the construction of the railway, as claimed by Henry Morton Stanley (Williams quoted in Edgerton 2002:124-5; also see *The Times* coverage of 1885 in Chapter Five). In 1908, the Belgian state took control with a realistic determination to reduce the Leopoldian horrors and put their new colony

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<sup>25</sup> The Commissaire was the head of each district in the Congo Free State. They were in charge of gathering the rubber collected from the Congo forests to send to King Leopold in Belgium (author).



into working order (Davidson 1978:99). There could be no question of avoiding 'undue interference' or of 'staying in the background': Bureaucratic obsession became the most enduring through not endearing characteristic of Belgian administration. Everything possible must be labelled and filled for reference, everyone must be named and noted down for work passes and movement passes. Out of this came an administration whose severely authoritarian attitudes were bolstered by a ministering Catholic Church of bottomless paternalism. Like all paternalists, it could rarely afford much affection for its wards and was geared to the interests of a series of mining trusts and corporations, headed by a monster called 'the Societe Generale'<sup>26</sup> whose headquarters were in Brussels (Morel quoted in Davidson 1978:99, see also the coverage of *The Times* in Chapter Five).

### ***Coverage in the Post-Colonial Period (1960)***

By the time of the Congo's independence in 1960 *The Times* had changed as a newspaper. The growth of human interest stories, the expansion of the size of British newspapers, the increasing competition in the industry following the return to normal operations in the 1950s and the increasing cost of international news coverage all had an impact on the nature of the coverage of the Congo in this period. However, with the civil war, tribal divisions and the great carnage of Belgian citizens and missionaries in the Congo, fighting had become a major news story. Much coverage focussed on the preparations for independence, the post-independence unrest, the United Nations and Russian interventions for the so called 'protection' of the civilian Congolese natives, and 'to restore' order in the newly independent Congo, only three weeks after the 'fragile' independence was granted by the Belgian authorities.

The bulk of the stories were political, again focussing on western interests and interventions. Independence threatened the future of European economic control of a profitable source of revenue and access to natural resources. The United Nations granted independence to the Congo because of pressure from the worldwide anti-colonial movement that had swept Africa in the 1950s. But shortly after the Congo's

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<sup>26</sup> Societe Generale is currently one of the Banks in Belgium.

independence, Belgium immediately sent troops to the country in order to protect Katanga, the city that possessed a wealth of resources and was the primary export site for the western corporations.

Much of the reporting focussed on the threat to individual Europeans from attacks by Africans. Less attention was paid to the possible threats to commercial and economic interests. The military presence remained in the Congo for years, thus showing the Congolese people were never truly granted 'independence'. The reporting of the post-independence situation in the Congo focussed on European superiority and the inability of the Congolese to take up the reins of power. Fifty-five percent of the stories were on the internecine conflict and the barbarity of the fighting and suffering of the people (see Table 20).<sup>27</sup>

The chaos, confusion, and violence are hardly surprising considering the circumstances in which the Congo attained its independence ... obviously the African Congolese cannot run their own country without outside assistance ... There is no Congolese African who has ever held a job above that of clerk, skilled manual labourer, or non-commissioned officer ... that is the lesson of the past days in Leopoldville ... (*The Times*, July 9, 1960, p.7).

A total of 500 Africans have been arrested after the intertribal fighting in the Congo mining province of Katanga last weekend, the Ministry for the Congo announced here today. Elisabethville and surrounding villages about 35 Africans were arrested further to sporadic fighting on Monday and Tuesday. The statement said calm has now been restored. The final casualty figures were seven dead and more than 100 injured. The fighting broke out when rival political groups representing local Katanga inhabitants clashed with Baluba immigrants from the central Congo (*The Times*, March 18, 1960, p.11).

Seven members of the Lulua tribe, including a woman and a child, were killed yesterday during an attack on a suburb of Luluabourg by strong groups of Baluba warriors, it was announced here today. More than 30

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<sup>27</sup> See Chapter Five on the stereotypes of the independence year

Lulua were seriously injured by the raiders, who looted and burnt 300 huts. Congolese troops sent to the scene arrested some 40 Baluba (*The Times*, April 22, 1960, p.12).

Much of the focus of the suffering was on the plight of Europeans, as opposed to local people, caught up in the fighting. That many Europeans, particularly Belgians, attempted to maintain their occupation of the land and resources of the country was less cited, though the entitlement complex of Belgium is revealed here because many Belgians believed that they should maintain their ownership of Congolese land, and Congolese natives did not warrant independence. The citizens of the Congo were regarded as an inferior people who lacked civilization, as witnessed by one Belgian official, who is quoted as writing:

‘A sector of humanity has inherited no civilization, no energy, no ideas, no interests to defend ... The black race has nothing behind it. There are people without writing, without history, without philosophy and without any consistency’ (cited in Hochschild 1999: 32; Devish 1996).

This comment illustrates the attitudes of many Belgian colonists towards the Congolese natives to whom they granted independence. In understanding the attacks on colonists much of this aspect of the discussion is under-reported.

There was some explanation of the fragile nature of the state after independence. The intellectual, administrative and business elements of society were all too underdeveloped and meagre to replace the vast colonial ruling class and their political system. Decades of authoritarian colonial rule had thus not prepared the people for political autonomy within a modern and vast multi-ethnic state. The emerging nation was at a loss to yield from its midst the know-how, the sense of collective identity and the necessary levels of literacy essential for setting up a modern democracy. It did not help that the constitution was much drawn up by the colonists and western powers. Indeed, it was a replica of the Belgian one. The new state was soon shown to be unable to sustain an administrative fabric in the most basic sense such as of collecting taxes and managing the huge mining industry. There

was little in the way of an archive of popular memory, as well as any appealing mythology, that could be used to develop national consciousness across tribal, ethnic and sectional interests. The Congolese were not able to expel the colonial traumas and unable to develop a forward-thrusting journey to autonomy. The national elections did not throw up a coalition of regionally and ethnically-based political parties vested in a well-defined political mandate. Politicians fell short of mobilising public consent strong enough for a mandate to claim control over the nation and the army. The new state soon lacked the means to sustain rural development and thus to feed its cities and other urban areas, and it became deadly dependent on imports and foreign personnel. The nature of the internal debate between the Congolese was little reported in the pages of *The Times* in this period. In its place were the familiar stereotypes of violence, unrest, tribal clashes, chaos and division. The intrinsic or innate qualities of the indigenous peoples prevailed over the role of the colonial power in creating a country that was not governable. The lack of preparation, the lack of expertise and the immaturity of the Congolese was reported, but the failings of their colonial masters in running the country or running down the country economically and commercially received less attention.

The Union Miniere, the Belgian company which runs the Katanga mines, announced today that its mines were at a standstill, their white executives being preoccupied with convoying their families to the Rhodesia. The hydro-electronic plants were also at a standstill and electric current was being supplied from Northern Rhodesia ... (*The Times*, July 12, 1960, p.8).<sup>28</sup>

Much of the reporting in 1960 concerned international politics. This was the height of the Cold War and, as with many conflicts on African soil, they were seen through the prism of the Cold War, the political, economic and ideological struggle between the US and the Soviet Union. This type of reporting has been described as 'zero sum journalism' (Dorman and Farhang 1987). Conflicts in Africa – or for that matter in Asia and Latin America – are seen in terms of gains and losses for the superpowers.

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<sup>28</sup> See Chapter Five; this quote is a repeat from the previous chapter to stress how serious the situation was in the Congo after independence.

The local nature of the conflict is barely explored at the expense of its international ramifications. Thus, figures in the political tension inside a country such as the Congo are represented as pro- or anti-West or pro- or anti- the Communist bloc. The first Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, suffered from this comparison – his national credentials were neglected at the expense of his Communist inclinations. Like many other western news organisations *The Times* reflected this geo-political dimension in its coverage of the civil war in the Congo in 1960. The dependence on agency copy reinforced this type of coverage; the international news agencies had become the dominant supplier of international news and in feeding western organisations tended to provide stories that interested them, stories of the Cold War.

*The Times* coverage of the year of independence confirms what Behr (1969:137) pointed out in his analysis - he stated that Belgians may have been admirable colonisers, especially in exploiting the Congo's natural resources for their own ends, but their colonial administration had chiefly inspired fear, and it was odd in the days following the re-opening of the hospitals to watch Congolese stand in line for treatment, since they would never have dared to show up before independence. They feared to be caught in the white man's system as they would have been punished by being heavily taxed. The Belgians had left the Congo totally unprepared for independence with only a few university graduates and not a single medical doctor. They were, however, in the habit of training semi-educated Congolese to perform one single function with robot-like efficiency, and this was one of the reasons why independence was thought to be a disaster (Behr 1969:67).

According to Davidson (1978:100), the Congo's independence was hardly well thought through, and almost guaranteed that the Congo's future would be chaotic. He points out that the Belgian policy only allowed Africans to graduate to skilled jobs but not more (such as administration) because more advancement might lead to trouble and the Belgians in their vast colony were understandably obsessed by fear of trouble. The Belgian doctrine began and continued in line with one colonial minister's statement of 1954:

'We have seen that those natives who have been shown Europe and given a very advanced education do not always return to the motherlands in a spirit favourable to

civilisation and to the mother country in particular. In such situations, it became inevitable that nationalism, when it appeared, should be in the hands of those who, in less restrictive colonies, became known as the 'sub-elites', the clerks and male nurses and primary schoolmasters, and that mass movements of messianic content should particularly flourish' (Minister of the Colony quoted in Davidson 1978:100).

This shows clearly that the Congo's independence was almost meant to fail, notably epitomised by Kasavubu and Lumumba, the Congo's first leaders who had never been allowed to rise above the level of clerks, and thus had no real experience of administration. The role of the Belgian colonial administration in deliberately undermining independence was not mentioned in *The Times* coverage of this year.

### *Coverage of Modern Congo (2006)*

The main topic in *The Times* coverage of the modern Congo (2006) was again politics: featuring prominently were the United Nations and European Union's interventions to keep peace between rebel factions in the country and the election campaign - the first free and democratic elections since the country creation in 1885 - as well as the post-election unrest. Much of the coverage examines the violence and ethnic clashes that arose from the allegations of vote rigging and the rejection of the election results by the Congolese rebel leader, Jean Pierre Bemba, and his supporters. They had lost the elections to Joseph Kabila. Violence expressed in various ways is the most common element in the findings gathered from the coverage of the news of the Congo:

Congo is on the verge of civil war after supporters of the President Joseph Kabila and his main election rival Jean Pierre Bemba fought on the streets of the capital for the third day. Fighting broke out when the independent electoral commission announced that the country's election on July 30 had proved inconclusive and that the two would have to face a run-off (anonymous author, *The Times*, August 23, 2006, p.31).

The former rebel who lost Congo's presidential election has been claiming he will not resort to violence and plunge the sprawling central African country back into chaos Jean Pierre Bemba vowed to the people ... the election result has to be formalised by the end of this month (*The Times*, November 20, 2006, p.34).

All the articles this year are written by *Times* correspondents and agency journalists, mainly the Associated Press (AP), the Agency France Press (AFP) and Reuters. *The Times* journalist Jonathan Clayton alone wrote and covered more stories than all the correspondents from AP and AFP (see Table 22 in Chapter Five). Richstad and Anderson (1981:224) argue that the concerns about the news coverage of Africa focus on the inadequate and superficial attention the western press pay to the realities of developing countries, often infusing coverage with cultural bias. The traditional emphasis on the dramatic, the emotional, and the amusing, the 'coups and earthquakes' syndrome, is seen not only as unbalanced but also as detrimental to the development process.

The western monopoly on the distribution of news, whereby even stories written about one Third World country for distribution in another are reported and transmitted by international news agencies based in New York, London, and Paris, amounts to neo-colonialism and cultural domination. The importance of the agencies to the news media throughout the world is illustrated by their use as a source of news about the Congo in *The Times* since 1885. The hold of the agencies over the control of international news provision is seen as increasing over the years, especially in the post-war period. This was not really shown to be the case in this study. *The Times* uses much material from its own staff or named correspondents. This can be attributed to the fact that some influential newspapers maintained their corps of correspondents and syndicated their correspondents' work. These papers also employ stringers on a permanent or semi-permanent contract. However, most news organisations rely on Reuters, AP and AFP. Few newspapers keep correspondents in Central, East or West Africa given its perceived low newsworthiness (Richstad and Anderson 1981:224-5; see also Williams 2011).

The perceived lack of newsworthiness of Africa is reinforced by western news media views of what its audiences want. They believe that people are only interested in what is described as 'home news abroad'. According to Kai Hafez (2007:39; see also Williams 2011). 'Most of the time, international reporting in media systems around the world is produced for domestic audiences, not for the regions in question themselves'. Adapting international stories to domestic concerns and interests is a means of ensuring that foreign news relates to the viewers, readers and listeners at home (Elliot 1979:156, Hafez 2007:40). Home news abroad concentrates on events which are directly linked with or are of direct interest to domestic audiences. What happens to fellow citizens abroad or the travels of domestic leaders or celebrities' are examples of such stories. In this study of *The Times* coverage of the Congo it was a consistent feature of the reporting that it focuses on western interests, people and concerns. In 2006 the case of the Briton Conrad Thorpe helping Congolese to protect the White Rhino in Virunga Park in the midst of a civil war which has been estimated to have taken the lives of nearly 4 million people is an extreme example (see *The Times*, May 20, 2006, p.3).

### *Comparisons of the Coverage*

There are several similarities that become apparent about the reporting on the Congo in *The Times* in the four periods of key significance. *Firstly*, international news is primarily about politics and economics. Most of the stories about the Congo are political stories but they are predominantly a certain type of story: They focus on the international dimension of the politics of the country. In 1885, the focus was on the western powers carving up Africa and delivering the Congo into the hands of the King of the Belgians. The political manoeuvrings and negotiations over this process are well covered, including the differences between the colonial powers.

In 1908, the debate around the liberation of the country from Leopold is featured. The debate focuses on western opinion and the different western positions taken on what was happening in the Congo. The political differences within the colonial country, within Britain and internationally are reported. The efforts of western non-governmental organisations campaigning for change are carried.



In 1960, the frame of the Cold War locates the reporting of the process of independence and the civil unrest that followed. The role of the UN in particular is examined, as well as the balance of power between the US and USSR. By 2006 the coverage again examines the intervention by the western powers to maintain peace and promote stability. This intervention is less overt than that in previous periods, but again the West's interests in promoting democracy, developing the economic potential of the country and bringing peace to the African continent are well reported. The domestic politics of the Congo are less well reported. When they do appear it is usually as an extension of the international dimension. Over time there is more insight into the local problems that may influence and shape the unrest and political turmoil – as well as the positive contribution made by local politicians to the development of the country – but the perspectives on these are usually western.

Foreign interference in the Congo is the main theme of the coverage in *The Times* in these four periods. This mostly appeared in the colonial Congo under a different name. It was not simply realpolitik. It was also the international interventions, solidarity and support that are evident in the annexation year, 1908, to stop King Leopold II from abusing the local population. In the 1960s, it was largely through the efforts of the anti-colonialism movement that eventually brought the United Nations to grant several African countries independence including the Belgian Congo. The same United Nations had to intervene to reorganise the latter country, unable to stand on its feet after the fragile and fractured independence they gained from the Belgian authorities. In the 2006 coverage, free elections took place, but the Congolese own anxiety is absent about the outcome of the elections, never having had any free elections before, ever since the independence of the country from Belgium in 1960. From the perspective of the coverage, however, it meant that the external or international political dimension prevailed. Foreign interference through different external organisations has been dominating the coverage throughout the periods identified for this study: the Berlin Conference in 1885, the Congo Reform Association in 1908, the UN interventions in 1960 and, lastly, in 2006.

The *second* aspect of *The Times*' coverage of the Congo has been the focus on reports of violence, human rights abuses and on-going rebellions. These, according to *The Times*, have been part of Congolese daily life in some regions in each period. The only exception is the colonial period in 1885 when reports of violence and suffering are less well covered – although there are some examples. Efforts to examine peace initiatives, particularly in 1960 and 2006, have appeared on the pages of the newspaper, but are what Johan Galtung (quoted in Lynch and McGoldrick 2005:45) has referred to as the war orientation of modern journalism and is supported by the findings of this study. War and conflict seem to be more newsworthy than peace and diplomacy, as Smith asserts when he says that the main selection criterion for western news in Africa is information concerning violence and war (Smith 1980:72; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005:46-7). It is also possible to argue that the perpetrators of conflict in the case of the Congo appear to be indigenous people more than colonists or foreign powers. The only clear exception to this appears to be in 1908 when the Congo Reform Association prioritised the suffering of the Congolese at the hands of the Free State and its agents. Some progress is noticed in *The Times* coverage of the modern Congo when the suffering of local people, ravaged by various armies that have passed across their homes and land, is documented, a product in many respects of the efforts of humanitarian agencies and charities to publicise their plight.

The *third* aspect is the dominance of western sources. Most of the stories in our sampled periods were derived from western sources, either letters from westerners with experience of the country, correspondents of the newspapers or agency copy. Material was also reported from other newspapers. This highlights that the international news system has been dominated by western organisations, structures and values since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. But more significantly the sources cited within the stories are usually western too, and primarily official western ones. The leading political and government figures in the western powers dominate the discourse on the Congo in each of the periods examined. This reflects the tendency of the media to rely on those sources which regularly provide information that can be verified. Nonetheless, the use of local sources increased in the post-war period, with

local politicians quoted. However, again the political elite figured overwhelmingly in the range of domestic Congolese sources cited. This reinforces the research which has indicated that most international news is about 'elite nations and elite people' (Galtung and Ruge, 1966; van Ginnekin, 1999). There is a distinct hierarchy in the nature of news, which is highlighted by the preponderance of official sources in each of the periods examined. African sources and Congolese sources come low down in the pecking order. Non-official sources appear at certain times, particularly on the basis of well organised campaigns, such as that of 1908. But again these non-official sources are primarily western.

The *final* aspect relates to the nature of the stories. Most news is foreground. Many of the news stories in our sample are snippets; short stories which provide up-to-date information about events happening here and now. Some background appears in feature articles or correspondence or the editorial columns, but by and large for stories about Africa and the rest of the Global South there is little context provided for the reader to locate the stories. The context that does perhaps exist, as suggested above, is shaped by western interests. However, in many cases the audience is left to fill in its own background and often with limited or no knowledge about the part of the world reported they fill in the blanks with the cultural assumptions their society makes about other parts of the world. William Adams (1982; see also Alleyne 1997; Lynch & McGoldrick 2005) noted this with television coverage of international affairs – stereotypical understandings and cultural prejudices provide the context to understand most of the stories reported about far off parts of the world. There is more space in newspapers to provide context but often stories are distinguished on the grounds of their importance. Copious coverage of US elections enables us to understand the broader political, policy and personality context to such events. Stories about less important countries – that is, the majority of the world – are not located here but in a lower division and, as such, the context provided is negligible or absent. What there is often simply reinforces the prejudices or stereotypical images the audience or readership has of that part of the world.

## 6.2. *Explaining the Coverage*

*The Times* commentaries, editorial and news stories carry little coverage that is critical of the official government line about the situation in the Congo. In 1885, the critical coverage is about exploration and in particular the role of Stanley. The British government was wary of the Welshman's role in the Congo, particularly his support for Leopold. Hence the paper did carry criticisms, albeit mainly in the letters columns. The concern of the European powers of the time and in particular Britain was mainly their own business interests. The rhetoric about civilising and promoting Africans was reported without challenge, as were the business opportunities for colonists. The efforts of Leopold and his associates to make as much profit as they could from the Congo were not mentioned.

This had changed in 1908 when Leopold's rule was subject to criticism from many quarters. The rhetoric of the civilising mission was called into question by the atrocities exposed by the Reform Association. The newspaper reported that Leopold's priorities were never in Africa, but in Belgium, and he was only interested in the Congo to obtain quick and sizeable returns. Any means, including the abomination of cutting people's hands off if they did not work hard enough, were tolerated. The paper's decision to carry such critical comments reflects the British government's desire to see Leopold's withdrawal from the Free State and its annexation to Belgian administration. The close connections between British foreign policy and *The Times* coverage are part of what Michira (2002) has described as the ties between the western media and the foreign policy of western governments.

There was little analysis or coverage of the problems of the Free State. With capital shortages heavily affecting the organisation and functioning of the colonial administration, as well as inciting a continuous rush for the collection of easy revenue, the fabric of the Congo Free State was significantly weakened. The loose network of posts, backed up by mobile military columns, was grossly inadequate for the maintenance of power. Communications remained poor and state officials and armed forces were inadequately provisioned, often leading them to fend for themselves. The failings of the Free State are ignored; as is the fragmentation of the

State into a number of semi-autonomous plunder economies, with officials forced into a parasitic relation with their environment, scrambling for the food, labour and revenues they required. All this could have been part of the reporting. Rather the benefits of plunder – or possible benefits – were carried.

In 1908 news coverage of the Congo shifted focus to Congolese natives. The support for doing something about the plight of these people was the product of a long-run campaign. It received wide international public support, from Great Britain through the Congo Reform Association, France with the French League for the Defence of the Congolese natives, and the USA through the various memoranda written to King Leopold and the Belgian authorities on the abuses and enslavement of the natives. The high profile of supporters such as Joseph Conrad helped to call attention to the horror of the realities overlooked by many English politicians. His condemnation of imperialism and colonialism, combined with sympathy for its persecuted and suffering victims, was drawn from his Polish background and his own personal suffering. Conrad's moral and political crusade caused Henry James<sup>29</sup> to laud Conrad's description of imperialism as 'robbery with violence, aggravated murder on a great scale'. He added: 'You have, as the artist of the whole matter, an authority that no one has approached' (cited in Zins 1998:66; Hargreaves 1988:25; Edgerton 2002:99). Conrad's novel *The Heart of Darkness*, which was based on his experiences in the Congo in 1890 when he was sent out to command a river steamer (under repair, he never did command it), used the figure of Kurtz as a symbol for the looting of Africa by Europeans. Conrad critique of conditions in the Congo was strengthened by stories he heard in England about the mismanagement of affairs in King Leopold's Congo.

Protest and agitation about the Congo had first started in earnest in 1890 with Afro American missionaries (Edgerton 2002, Devish 1996; Depelchin 1992). Conrad, James, Morel and Casement, the prime movers of the campaign to improve the lot of the peoples of the Free State, drew attention to the dark side of imperialism. They were anti-colonialist and argued that the interests of civilisation and the interests of colonialism were basically antagonistic. They rejected the notion that

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<sup>29</sup> Sentences from Henry James are found at <http://www.com/mmw5paper/pula012001005.pdf>

imperialism was justified, supposedly because it brought a greater efficiency to the lands under its sway. This reflected a degree of popular feeling in Britain (Anstey 1966; Slade 1962; Zins 1998; Louis & Stengers 1998) but the anti-colonial element of the campaign and its organisers were not fully developed in the coverage, which focussed on the ill-treatment of the peoples of the Congo. Nevertheless, that this was reported is a testament to the effectiveness of an anti-colonial campaign at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The pressure that helped promote independence owes much to the worldwide anti-colonialism movement that started with Casement, Conrad and E.D. Morel. Even if the Congolese did not figure prominently as part of the campaign, modern anti-colonialism had its roots in the efforts of the Congo Reform Association. By 1960 the Congolese, the people and their leaders, became for the first time the news makers in their own right in *The Times* newspaper. By 2006 the Congolese peoples freely voted and selected their leaders and, in the process, they were reported in their own right by the newspaper. The shift to greater reporting of local peoples in the Congo was a product of the political efforts of organisations such as the Congo Reform Association to gain coverage for the plight of these people. It also reflects the shift away from the colonial mentality in British society. With Britain's withdrawal from its imperial role, with a greater questioning of British imperial values and activities and the emergence of a more critical politics inside British society, newspapers were more wary of their reporting of the former colonies.

This explains the greater range of sources reported by the paper in later years. However, there is still something about the colonial experience that influences the coverage. For many, these were the heyday of British achievement and there is still a tendency in the British press to judge contemporary African states in terms of their colonial past. According to commentators such as Woollacott (1976), Berry (1988), Parekh (1988) and Tunstall (2008), the western media act as inspectors to examine how far the new states of Africa and elsewhere in the Global South have fallen from the civilised standards that supposedly characterised their colonial past. Some of the coverage in *The Times* leads us to think that the paper is making this type of judgement.

There are specific reasons for aspects of the reporting that are identified above. But overall we can see the reporting of the Congo in *The Times* between 1885 and 2006 as a product of the international news gathering system and a set of news values which reflect western cultural assumptions about the world and those who live in it. It was predominantly negative, centred on stereotypical representations of the people and the country which coincided with the readers' perceptions of this part of the world, focused on western interests and reflecting western priorities. While there were slight deviations from what has been identified in the research into the representation of Africa in the western news media, reflecting the circumstances of different historical periods, this study confirms the findings of previous research. Galtung and Ruge's typology holds up: *The Times* focussed on elites, bad news and news and comment that responded to western perspectives. It was primarily about politics and economics, 'hard news', and set a news agenda which was western in orientation and explanation.

### ***6.3. Gaps and Silences***

In 1885, only 34 news articles were published in *The Times* newspaper, with most of them based on the stories of the creation of the Congo, as imagined by Westerners at the Berlin Conference. The partitions were based on boundaries that disregarded the previous ones existing before their arrival. These articles portray native Congolese as primitive, inferior, barbaric Negroes and children who need to be civilised and evangelised in order to be able to interact with their western masters, whom they should imitate. There was violence from the natives to resist the western presence, as well as violence from the westerners to attain control of the newly discovered continent while in 1908, there was no violence mentioned from the natives in *The Times*, but there were international protests and agitation, mainly from Britain, France and the United States of America in support of the Congolese natives - who could not speak out themselves against the rule of King Leopold and his business associates around the world. The other countries, like Denmark, Hungary, Holland, Italy, Norway-Sweden and Turkey, that attended the Berlin conference are not

mentioned in the coverage of pre-colonial Congo (Edgerton 2002:78). The picture of the international situation presented in the newspaper was partial.

In 1908, the colonial period or annexation period, there were 100 news items published (without counting commentaries including letters and editorials). While the Congo Reform Association was mentioned, the broad range of international support from individuals and organisation particularly in the US was less prominent. The Black American missionaries who first opposed the Leopoldian regime; the international figures associated with the Association were not mentioned and most of the coverage centred on the British journalist E.D. Morel. *The Times* focus on Morel could be seen as another example of the ethnocentric nature of the reporting of international events in the western media. It is also possible that Morel's position on colonialism was less critical than some of his colleagues. The exact date of the annexation (November 15, 1908) is not mentioned in the *The Times* coverage of the Congo this year.

In 1960, the year of independent, there were more than 200 news stories, most of them based on the violence that was caused either by Congolese natives through tribal clashes, foreign great powers through the UN supporting Western capitalism and Russians fighting for the spread of communism in the African continent (Birmingham 1995; Braeckman 1991; Kanza 1979). There was little on the peace efforts made to end the fighting. The presence of the United Nation mission was covered primarily in terms of its contribution to the violence – it is interesting to note that there was less coverage of the UN involvement in the Congo in 2006 than 1960.

The bulk of *The Times* coverage was negative, focussing as it did on the traditional stereotypes such as backwardness, primitiveness, violence, tribalism, failed states, lack of collective identity, corruption, injustice and mismanagement, hunger, famine, fire and flood – as indicated by other research studies (see Achebe 1975, Mandaza 1986, Mphahlele 1922; Michira 2002, Mengara 2001, Lynch 2004, Pieterse 1995). There were few positive articles. However, the negative/positive dimension is only a partial explanation of the picture. Bad news predominates. *The Times* focussed on the bad news syndrome with stories of violence, war, crime, rape,



corruption, disaster and famine. But these bad news stories were related to political coverage that stresses external or international dimensions to the African experience. Coups, crises, wars and conflicts are located as part of an international agenda not the local agenda – their impact is assessed in terms of geopolitics rather than on local peoples and interests. Hence the western interests and perspectives prevail. What is neglected throughout the history of the papers coverage of the Congo is the international solidarity in support of the native peoples which has featured in nearly every period since 1885, when *The Times* published an account that the Congo was created to prevent the natives going into slavery. *The Times* of May 5, 1885 reported that the Congo Association will do all in their power to prevent the slave trade, and to suppress slavery (p 5.) In 1908, the Congo Reform Association was created to save the native Congolese from Leopold's enslavement. UN intervention in 1960 was in the name of de-colonisation and to support and maintain the independence of the new Congolese state. In 2006 UN peacekeepers and the European Union were present in the Congo to help keep the peace and support the efforts of the people of the Congo to their self-determination. These efforts of international solidarity were not covered.

From this study it is significant that the major silence in the *The Times* reporting of the Congo related to western involvement in the country. That many of the problems faced by the Congo and its peoples were largely created by Westerners and Western interventions, such as colonialism and other seemingly necessary intrusions, is not apparent. The responsibility of the West, and in particular western governments, for the country's failings and suffering is down-played or neglected. It is not part of the agenda about thinking of the problems of the Congo, Africa and the Third World. As Dahlgren and Chakrapani (1982:54) have asserted: 'The instability in most African countries and other parts of the Third World is at least in part due to the West's role over several centuries. The news merely draws upon and contributes to a convenient cultural amnesia that it did not create these problems'.

## *Summary*

This chapter has shown that the coverage of the Congo in *The Times* follows the pattern of reporting of Africa identified in previous research. It is replete with certain kinds of negative representations of Africa and the African peoples, with the stereotypes of cultural inferiority and backwardness, endemic violence and war pronounced. Much of the reporting concerned international politics and its actors rather than the Congo and its peoples. The Congolese conflicts are seen as gains and losses for the outside powers, whether the colonial powers or the then super powers, the US and Soviet Union. The comparison of the coverage in the selected years has shown that 1885 was the carving up of the country by western countries, while 1908 is seen as the liberation of the country from Leopold by western efforts - the efforts of the Congo reform movements by Anglo-Saxon activists taken against King Leopold's regime to free indigenous Congolese from slavery and atrocities committed by the Free State are central to the reporting. The reporting of independence in 1960 centres on the Cold War and the role played by Western countries and the Soviet Union and the consequences for Europeans. 2006 looks at western problems with the conflict as much as the Congolese participation in their first free elections. Violence, human abuses and rebellions are the main features in the reporting of the Congo and its peoples in each period while violence from western explorers such as Stanley and missionaries to occupy, evangelise and civilise Congolese natives are not as much reported. The dominance of the West is clearly identified in the reporting of the Congo throughout *The Times* coverage. The provision of news and information about what is happening in Africa is shaped by an international news system which has special features, agenda and criterions of reporting the third world. It is steeped in colonialism; the structures, values and performance of the international news organisations have their roots in colonialism. Despite claims to objectivity and independence, news workers report news within the frame that has shaped their organisations and the international news agencies. Newspapers of record such as *The Times* are also closely associated with the imperial venture. Closely allied with government, the editors and leader writers of *The Times*,

as well as many of their main correspondents, were 'journalists of Empire' (Thomson 2010). Changing attitudes to Empire did produce changing coverage, but the colonial legacy is ensconced in the reporting of the Congo in *The Times*.

## **Chapter Seven: Conclusion**

This thesis explores one aspect of the representation of Africa in the western media – the reporting of the Congo in *The Times* of London. It addressed the one main research question, which was: (1) What have been the changing representations of the Congo in *The Times* 1885-2006? This was supplemented by the secondary questions: (2) Who are the authors of the articles and commentaries and what are the standard discursive conventions and tropes that they draw upon, and what are the primary sources of information they draw on?; and, (3) What are the main topics, stereotypes and images that pervade the reporting and articles? The study focussed not on one period or one event but rather examined the history of representation over a series of key turning points in Congolese history: the creation of the Congo Free State in 1885, the annexation of the Congo Free State to Belgium in 1908, Congolese independence in 1960 and the first full free elections in 2006.

The key aim of the thesis has been to examine the changing nature of representations of Congo 1885-2006 longitudinally (and therefore diachronically), unlike most studies of representations which have been synchronic. The objective is to uncover the nature of representation and how it has changed, either in terms of the images and discourses presented or the types of stories covered and the sources used. The study found that many of the stereotypes that were identified in previous research into the images of Africa in the western media were apparent across time in *The Times* reporting of the Congo. The Congo was consistently represented in a stereotypical way, focussing on the negative aspects of the society and its peoples. Violence is represented as endemic and, like other parts of the continent, Africans and African institutions and political structures are found wanting. Over a period of more than a hundred years, the Congo is portrayed as under-developed, uncivilised and under-reported. Simonsen (2010: 27) points out that the Western portrayals serve as a constitutive mirror for a nation state in the making, through confirming the national identity against the implied 'otherness' of the international world. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, colonialism was not only a political reality; it was also considered part of the natural order of things.

Although there were several examples of the newspaper reporting or making criticism of the use of violence or the nature of external intervention, there was little questioning of colonialism and the impact of colonial institutions on the development of the Congo. For many in Africa and the Third World in general the colonial legacy is a crucial factor in accounting for their problems. This dimension of the country's problems was never really interrogated. Generally, the coverage conformed to representations of Africa, focussing on several myth-like characteristics, exaggerating certain features such as war, suffering, danger, and disease, while minimizing others - including the specific culture, history, customs and social and political processes within the Congo. Often the Congo is seen as the same as other African countries. Many commentators describe the African continent more in terms of a country than that of a continent, in effect reducing the discursive space that allows for a differentiated understanding of change and social dynamics. One example can be located at the core of Norwegian journalism, in the news publication of the Norwegian Union of Journalists. In an article in the May 2006 edition of the magazine *Journalisten*, the new foreign correspondents appointed by the NRK, Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation, are represented by reference to the capitals they are based in, with one exception. The African correspondents are always described as 'going to Africa' without stating the African country they are going to, as if Africa is only a country (Simonsen 2010:23).

There are alternative accounts of the indigenous peoples of the Congo in different periods. This is apparent in 1908 when the plight and suffering of the Congolese under the Free State are reported by the paper. The source of much of this reporting is not the people of the Congo but pressure groups inside western societies, particularly in France, Britain and the US. The impact of the Congo Reform Association in highlighting the problems of indigenous people in the Congo cannot be under-estimated. The influence of the anti-King Leopold campaign promoted by the Association is apparent in the coverage, and in the process some aspects of the colonial venture were subject to some scrutiny. More attention was paid to Congolese voices in the post-war periods. Local sources were cited and the problems of local people were heard about more in their own words – although in accord with

Galtung and Ruge's classification of news values the elites of the Congo are more readily cited than ordinary people or groups. However, this is done in the context of a western news agenda. Western voices predominate and local people are part of a discussion or debate which is on western terms, informed by western sources and framed by western interpretations and understandings. Alleyne (1997:3) notes that news values are a key variable in understanding the nature of international news and global news flows. The political leadership of the newly independent Congo in 1960 are reported through the prism of 'negative' or 'bad' news. Similarly, the first free elections in 2006 were subjected to the western news values, which emphasise what went wrong rather than what went right. This conforms to the 'coups, wars and famines' syndrome. It seems that stories about the Congo and the Congolese are more likely to appear when it is bad news. This conforms to the structure of the international system and predominance of western news values in the selection of international news.

The stereotypes that were apparent in the reporting of the Congo reflected a long tradition of cultural misrepresentation of Africa in western societies. The deep-seated racism and ethnocentrism in western societies can be seen as manifest in the western news media. The commercial and economic requirement that the western agencies and western news media produce news that interests the western audience leads to the reproduction of these images. The lack of a provision of background or context means audiences understand events through their own cultural prism, which in the West means negative and narrow stereotypes of Africa and Africans. In this way, international news can be seen as a weapon of those with power in the international system, a tool to maintain the status quo, at least in regard to the inferior status of some peoples and nation-states. However, an alternative way of viewing the problem is to focus on the dominant definition of news. Such an approach locates the problem with the power of news values rather than with particular prejudices towards certain countries or groups of people. *The Times* reporting of the Congo must be seen in the context of an international news system that was established in colonial times. Events in the Congo were viewed through western eyes – in this case British eyes. The reporting reflected the cultural assumptions of the newspaper's readers which were inculcated in the stories covered and the way in which they were covered. These assumptions were overt in the early years but implicit in later years. The reporting reflected the selection of what is newsworthy which was and still is shaped by the western news values and a western news gathering system which concentrates heavily on 'hard' news, encourages the reproduction of stereotypical

images and follows western interpretations or frameworks of understanding. The reporting reflected the close ties between the newspaper and the British political establishment. Support of the imperial venture was a shared experience with the political elite. *The Times* did not direct its audience on how to think about events in the Congo, though it did direct the readers' attention to a specific news agenda by covering certain events, by quoting certain sources and by repeating a certain set of facts and ideas. The newspaper presented and reinforced a particular frame of representation which encouraged its readers what to think about. The agenda it set was influenced, determined and shaped by western values, perspectives and understanding.

Total Newspaper Articles & Commentaries from 1885-2006: 391

Table 1.1. Pre-colonial Commentaries: Six Letters

<i>The Times Newspaper 1885: Commentaries</i>							
Coding	Category	Publication Year/Date	Place & Author/Source	Topic/ Subject	Language used	Stereotype	Comment
T-PR-COL-CO/ COM 1885/ 1	Letter	January 20, 1885	London / James F. Hutton	Business in the Congo. Discussions between British and Portuguese over Business the Congo	Business correspondence	Non-existent other/ Exclusion of the natives	Profits to be made out of the new Colony.
T-PR-COL-CO COM 1885/ 2	Letter	January 21, 1885	London/ Unnamed author	National African	Business correspondence	Land of exploitation	The Congo, as a place to be explored.
T-PR-COL-CO/ COM 1885/3	Letter	August 21, 1885	London/ Edward Marston	Salubrity of the Congo Basin	Business correspondence	Ignorance of the Natives	Dangerous place to be & Health problems.
T-PR-COL-CO/ COM 1885/4	Letter	August 27, 1885	Swansea (Wales) /Robert Capper	Salubrity of the Congo Basin	Business correspondence	Lack of Health care and medical doctors	Publicity of the Congo as a place to be explored.
T-PR-COL-CO COM 1885/ 5	Letter	December 24, 1885	London/ Secretary of the Baptist Missionaries Alfred Henry Baynes	Missionary Exploration	Administrative correspondence	Land to be explored	Economic exploitation of the Congo.



T-PR-COL-CO 1885/COM/6	Letter	December 28, 1885	London/ Henry M. Stanley	The Congo Railway	Business correspondence	A place to be developed /business opportunity	Construction of the railways.
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Table 1.2. Pre-colonial News Stories: 24

THE TIMES 1885: NEWS STORIES							
Coding	Category	Date	Place/source/ Author	Subject/ Topic	Language used	Stereotypes	Comments
T-PR-COL-CO 1885 N 1	News	January 6, 1885	Washington/ American Congress	The United State and the Congo	Politics	Creation	The United States to be part of organising Congo's administration.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885 N 2	News	January 7, 1885	Philadelphia/ Anglo American cables	The United State and the Congo	Politics	Creation	The United States sends its troupes to the Congo.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/N 3	News	January 17, 1885	Berlin/ African Association	The Congo Conference	Politics	Creation	The title of High Protector of the Congo is granted to King Leopold II.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/N 4	News	January 28, 1885	Paris/ French Cabinet Councils	Portugal, France and the Congo	Business & Administration	Business	Decision to share the Congo made in Paris and Lisbon.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/N 5	News	February 5, 1885	Manchester correspondent	Portugal and The Congo	Business administration	Business	Britain wants a piece of land in the Congolese territory.

T-PR-COL-CO 1885/ N 6	News	February 9, 1885	Lisbon	The Occupation of the Congo	Politics	Portugal occupying the Congo ( Business)	Disputes over the Congo territory.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/N7	News	February 18, 1885	Berlin	The Partition of the Congo	Politics	Partition of the lower Congo	Division of the Congo.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885 /N 8	News	March 2,1885	Manchester/ Manchester Chamber of commerce	The Congo Treaty	Britain demands and request the rights for a free trade along the Congo river	Exploration/Business	River Congo to be exploited by Britain for free.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/N 9	News	March 11,1885	Brussels/ Belgian Chamber	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Creation	The King of the Belgians to rule the Congo and its peoples.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/ N 10	News	March 14, 1885	Brussels/ The Congo Association	Belgium and the Congo	The foundation of Congo by the Belgians	Creation	Berlin Conference congratulates Belgian authorities for organising the Congo.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/ N 11	News	March 20, 1885	Brussels/President of the Belgian Chamber	Belgium and the Congo	Business between Congo and Belgium	Creation	Belgium to be of business in the Congo.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/ N 12	News	April 15, 1885	London/Sir Rawlinson the president of the Royal Geographical Society	The Upper Congo	Business	Exploration	Exploring the Congo.
T-PR-COL-	News	April 21, 1885	Brussels/ Belgian Delegates to the	The Congo State	Business	Non-existent natives	Ignoring and excluding the natives

CO 1885/ N 13			Berlin Conference					from the management of the country.
T-PR- COL- CO 1885/ N 14	News	April 22, 1885	Brussels/ Delegates of the Congo Association	The Congo State	Politics	Creation	The Congo to be a private property and personal business of King Leopold II.	
T-PR- COL- CO 1885/ N 15	News	May 05, 1885	Brussels/ London Delegations	The Corporation of London and The Sovereign of the Congo	Politics	Exploration and business	King Leopold II to use the Congo for business with his British business partners.	
T-PR- COL- CO 1885/ N 16	News	May 26, 1885	London/ Edward B. Mallet	The Founding of the Congo State	Business and administration	exploration	A book published on Stanley's experience in the Congo.	
T-PR- COL- CO 1885/ N 17	News	May 28, 1885	London/ The International Association of the Congo	The Congo	Administration	Creation	The Convention of the International Commission of the Congo appoints the King of the Belgians as the founder of the Congo.	
T-PR- COL- CO/ N 18	News	May 29, 1885	London/ Baptist Missionaries	Mr. H. Stanley On The Congo Mission	Administration and Evangelisation	Evangelisation	Stanley briefing missionaries on the Congo.	
T-PR- COL- CO 1885/ N 19	News	June 29, 1885	Brussels/American men of War	The Congo	Administration/business	Creation of the Congo	An Explorer to govern the new State.	
T-PR-	News	August 22,	Brussels	The Congo	Politics	Non-existent natives	Prohibition of the	

COL-CO 1885/ N 20		1885		State			sale of arms to the Congolese natives.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/ N 21	News	October 6, 1885	Brussels	The Congo	Exploration report	Exploring the Congo	Business/ exploration of the Congo.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/ N 22	News	October 30, 1885	Vienna	The Congo	Exploration report	Business/ exploration	Exploring the Congo for business.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/ N 23	News	December 24, 1885	Brussels	The New Congo State	Construction of The Congo ( business)	Business	Building railways in the Congo to ease circulation and business.
T-PR-COL-CO 1885/ N 24	News	December 25, 1885	Manchester/ Stanley and Mr Hutton, the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce	The Congo	Business	Creation	Getting business for the new State of the Congo in Britain.

Table 2.1. Colonial Commentaries: 11 articles (nine editorials and three letters)

<i>The Times</i> Newspapers 1908							
Commentaries/Editorials 1908							
Coding	Category	Date	Place/Source/ author	Subject/Topic	Language used	Stereotypes	Comment
T-COL- CO- COM 1908/1	Letter	Feb 10, 1908	London/E.D. Morel, the Secretary of Congo Reform Association	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Exploitation	The Congo to be exploited for the interest of Belgium and its people denounced by the Congo Reform Association in London.
T-COL- CO- COM 1908/2	Editorial/Leaders	Feb 26, 1908	London/ House of the Lords	The Congo Debate	Politics	Exploitation and abuse	Britain and the United States accuse King Leopold II to be exploiting and abusing the Congo's resources.
T-COL- CO- COM 1908/3	Editorial/Leaders	Feb 28, 1908	London/ House of the Commons	The Government and the Congo State	Politics	Exploitation	Pressure from London and the United States on

T-Col-CO-COM 1908 /4	Editorial/Leaders	Mar 6, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Brussels Correspondents	A Further stage in the Congo Negotiations	Politics	Exploitation	A wealthy territory of the Congo 'Le domaine de la couronne' to be owned by King Leopold II despite the Congo annexation to Belgium.	the Belgian Parliament to look after Congolese. Natives.
T-Col-CO-COM 1908/5	Editorial/Leaders	Mar 27, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Brussels Correspondent	The Congo State	Administration	exploitation	Pressure from Congo Reform Association (Britain & USA)	
T-COL-CO-COM 1908/6	Letter	April 7, 1908	Hawarden/ Ed Morel, the Secretary of Congo Reform Association	Belgium and the Congo	Politics and justice correspondence	Human rights abuses	Neglect and Ignorance of the natives.	
T-COL-CO-COM 1908 /7	Editorial/Leaders	April 21, 1908	London/ Anglo Saxon powers	The Congo Debate in Brussels	Politics	Power/ Business	Anglo-Saxons( Britain and USA) telling Belgians how to	

							administer the Congo
T-COL-CO-COM 1908/8	Letter	May 1, 1908	London/ Sheffield Neave	The Congo Free State	Politics	Racism and exploitation	Racism, segregation and exploitation from white settlers.
T-COL-CO-COM 1908/ 9	Editorial/Leaders	June 16, 1908	London/ British and American authorities( Congo Reform Association)	Belgium and the Congo State	Politics	International solidarity	Britain and the United States imposing themselves on Belgian authorities.
T-COL-CO- 1908/10	Editorial/Leaders	Sept 10, 1908	London/ British Government	The annexation of the Congo	Politics and administration	International solidarity	The Congo Association Committee (London and USA) to approve the annexation of the Congo to Belgium.
T-COL-CO-COM 1908 /11	Editorial/Leaders	Sept 15, 1908	Hawarden/ Ed Morel, the Secretary of Congo Reform Association	The Congo Question	Politics	Slavery/ exploitation	Ed Morel speaking out on behalf of Britain and USA.
T-COL-CO-COM 1908 /12	Editorial/Leaders	Dec 23, 1908	London/ British Parliament, Church of England, leaders	The Congo Annexation	Politics	International solidarity	Annexation of the Congo to Belgian is

			of Religious communities and Philanthropic bodies			recognised in Britain
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**Table 2.2. Colonial news stories: 112**

THE TIMES 1908: News Stories							
Codes	Category	Publication year/date	Place/ source/ author	Subject/Topic	Language used	Stereotype	Comment
T-COL-CO 1908/N 1	News	January 11, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Future of the Congo	Business	exploitation	The King of the Belgians to keep an area in the Congo for his private business.
T-COL-CO 1908/N 2	News	January 14, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	Business	forced labour ( Slavery)	Taxes and revenues from the crown domain to build the Congo.
T-COL-CO 1908/N 3	News	January 15, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	Business administration	Business	The crown domain to be part of Belgium before annexation.
T-COL-CO 1908/N 4	News	January 17, 1908	London/ The Congo Reform Association	The Congo Reform Association	Politics	Justice for the Congo/International solidarity	Congo Reform Association seeking justice for Congolese natives.
T-COL-CO 1908/N 5	News	January 21, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and The Congo	Politics	Organising the Congo ( Colonialism)	Colonialism.
T-COL-CO 1908/N 6	News	January 22, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Belgium and The Congo	Politics	Exploitation of the Congo/Slavery	Debate in the Belgian Parliament over the Congo.
T-COL-CO 1908/ N 7	News	January 24, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondence	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Exploitation/Slavery	Ongoing debate in the Congo over the crown domain.
T-COL-CO/ N 8	News	January 25, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Forced labour/Slavery	Belgian liberal politicians support the idea of King Leopold II



									to keep the crown domain after annexation.
T-COL -CO- 1908/N 9	News	January 29, 1908	Brussels/ Belgian Politicians	The Congo Free State	Belgium and the Congo	Business	Natives to be enslaved and used to pay the King's expenditures (slavery)	Natives to repay the king's debts to his business partners	
T-COL -CO 1908/N 10	News	January 30, 1908	London/ British church leaders			Politics	Sympathy for the natives( International solidarity)	British clergy and authorities urging Belgian authorities to treat Congolese natives fairly.	
T-COL- CO 1908/N 11	News	February 5, 1908	Brussels/ British Church leaders		Belgium and the Congo	Administration and business	International solidarity	Negotiations between Belgian and British authorities on annexation of the Congo to Belgium.	
T-COL -CO 1908/ N 12	News	February 7, 1908	Brussels/ Belgian Government		Belgium and the Congo	Business	Business, exploitation	King Leopold II negotiating a business deal with the Belgian government before annexation.	
T-COL -CO 1908/ N 13	News	February 21, 1908	Brussels/ Belgian Jesuit Rev Veermeersch		Belgian Jesuit Priest on the Congo state	Justice for the natives	International solidarity	A Belgian Jesuit condemns Belgian authorities in the Congo.	
T-COL -CO 1908/ N 14	News	February 24, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent		King Leopold and The Government	Business	Business	The King urging the Belgian government to meet his demands before taking over the administration of the Congo from him.	
T-COL- CO 1908/ N 15	News	February 24, 1908	London/ Ed Morel & Rev Gilchrist, British		The Congo Question	Politics	Slavery and forced labour ( exploitation)	Ed Morel published a letter received on forced labour and slavery from a missionary based in	

			Missionary in the Congo				the Congo.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 16	News	February 26, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent.	The King Leopold and The Ministry	Politics	Nonexistent other	Discussion between the Congo and the Belgian Chamber on the Annexation proposals.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 17	News	February 26, 1908	London/ British authorities & Church of England.	The Congo Debate	Politics	International Solidarity	British authorities dictating & giving Belgian government conditions to be fulfilled before annexation of the Congo.
T - Col - CO 1908/ N 18	News	February, 26, 1908	London/ British Foreign Office	The Congo Question	Politics	Human right abuse/slavery	The British authorities accusing King Leopold's agents of mistreating Congolese natives.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 19	News	February, 27, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and British Criticisms	Politics	International solidarity	British authorities criticising & interfering with the Belgian administration in the Congo.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 20	News	February, 29, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Belgian Chamber and the White book	Politics	Sympathy( International solidarity)	Pressure and protests against Belgian authorities demanding a proper colony plan before annexing the Congo to Belgium.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 21	News	February , 29, 1908	Paris/ The French League for the Protection of Congo Basin Natives	The Congo Question: The French League	Politics/ Support for the natives	Sympathy and protection of the natives( International solidarity)	Pressure from the French league urging Belgian authorities to respect and protect natives from abuse and exploitation.
T -		March 2,	Brussels/ <i>The</i>	Belgium and	Politics	Compassion for the	British urging the

COL-CO 1908/N 22	News	1908	<i>Times</i> correspondent	the Congo		natives from the British ( International solidarity)	Belgian government for administrative reforms in the Congo.
T - COL- CO 1908/N 23	News	March 3, 1908	New York/ <i>The Time</i> Washington Correspondent	American comment	Politics	Compassion for the natives from the American authorities(International solidarity)	American authorities in New York urging Belgian to treat natives with dignity and respect.
T - COL -CO 1908/N 24	News	March 4, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	King Leopold and the Congo	Business article	Business	The king giving in to the pressure from British and American to sell part of his land in the Congo to Belgian government.
T - COL - CO- 1908/N 25	News	March 6, 1908	Brussels / <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Crown Domain Suppressed	Business article	Business	King Leopold selling his crown domain in the Congo for business with Americans.
T - COL -CO 1908/N 26	News	March 10, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Ignorance of the natives( Nonexistent other)	The discussion to annex the Congo to the Belgium in the Belgian Parliament.
T - COL -CO- 1908/N 27	News	March 12, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	The Revised Treaty of Cession	Business article	Ignorance of the Congolese natives ( nonexistent other)	Business and profit deals between King Leopold and the Belgian government over the crown domain in the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/N 28	News	March 13, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Proposed Amendment of the Colonial Law	Politics and judiciary	Justice for the natives	Belgian authorities discussing laws to be implemented in the Congo without consulting Congolese natives.
T - COL		March 20,	Brussels/ <i>The</i>	Belgium and	Politics	Sympathy for the	Belgian Parliament

- CO 1908/ N 29	News	1908	<i>Times</i> correspondent	the Congo		natives in the Belgian Parliament( International solidarity)	votes for annexation of the Congo to Belgium as the only way to improve the living conditions of the natives.
T - COL -CO- 1908/ N 30	News	March 23, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	France and Annexion	Politics: Territorial administration	Exclusion of the natives while drawing borders (Nonexistent other)	France and Belgium agree on the frontiers between the two Congos without consulting Congolese natives.
T-COL- CO 1908/ N 31	News	March 24, 1908	Brussels, 24/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	The Colonial Law	Politics: Administration and laws for the Congo	Colonialism/Non- existent other	Making laws for the Congo.
T-COL- CO 1908/ N 32	News	March 24, 1908	Durham ( England), 24/ British Bishop	The Bishop of Durham and The Congo	Justice for the natives	International solidarity and justice for the Congo	Solidarity and justice for the Congolese natives.
T-COL- CO 1908/N 33	News	March 25, 1908	Belgium and The Congo	Belgium and the Congo	Administrative and judiciary	Business/hon-existent others	Making laws for the Congo.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 34	News	March 26, 1908	Brussels/ The Times correspondent	Votes by the Commission	Politics	Sympathy and support to Congolese natives(	Belgian parliament votes the Colonial laws to improve natives conditions.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 35	News	March 27, 1908	London/ The Committee of the Congo Association Reform ( Britain and USA)	The Congo Reform Association	Politics	Exclusion of the natives (Nonexistent other)	Britain imposing themselves on Belgian authorities.
T -		March 27,	Brussels/	The	Politics	Exclusion of the natives	Discussion being held

COL-CO 1908/ N 36	News	1908	Brussels Liberal Association	Annexation of the Congo		(Nonexistent other)	in Brussels without consulting Congolese natives.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 37	News	March 28, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Annexation of the Congo	Politics	Justice for the Congo	Members of different political parties not agreeing on the annexation of the Congo to Belgium.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 38	News	March 30, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Alterations in the Colonial Law	Politics	International solidarity	British and Britain deciding on the laws to be implemented in the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 39	News	April 2, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Coming Debate	Politics	Congolese natives	Belgian Parliament deciding the Congo's future.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 40	News	April 3, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgian Liberals and Annexation	Politics	annexation vote in Brussels(Annexation)	Belgian politicians voting for annexation of the Congo to Belgium.
T-COL- CO/N 41	News	April 4, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Colonial Law	Business and Administration	Justice for natives	Belgian authorities organising the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 42	News	April 9, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Action by the Senate		Justice for the natives	Decisions for the future of the Congo in Brussels.
T - COL- CO 1908/ N 43	News	April 10, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Justice for the natives	Belgian authorities agree to annex the Congo to Belgium to civilise and educate natives.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 44	News	April 10, 1908	London/ Belgian Prime Minister and Belgian Senate	The Congo Question	Politics	Justice for the natives	Belgians to civilise Congolese natives.

T - COL-CO 1908/N 45	News	April 14, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Justice for the natives	Belgian government to take up the Congo.
T - COL -CO 1908/N 46	News	April 15, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	business	Slavery	Belgian authorities reject allegations and accusations from British officers in the Congo on the abuses by colonial Belgians.
T - COL -CO 1908/N 47	News	April 15, 1908	London/ Mr Hamlyn, animal dealer of St George Street ( London)	A Strange animal from the Congo	Exploration	Jungle ( exotic place)	Carrying out a research on the Animal found in the Congo by a British animal dealer.
T - COL -CO 1908/N 48	News	April 16, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Declaration of the Premier	Politics	Indifference towards the natives ( Non-existent other)	The Belgian Prime minister orders the Parliament to vote for annexation treaty and the colonial laws.
T - COL-CO 1908/N 49	News	April 17, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Congo Debate: Financial Aspect	Business	Business and profit for Belgium	The Belgian government discussing profits to be made out of the Congo after paying off King Leopold's debts.
T - COL-CO 1908/N 50	News	April 21, 1908	Washington/ American House of the Lords	The Congo Question	Politics	slavery and forced labour in the Congo( Exploitation)	American missionaries disagree with British missionaries over the Belgian treatment of Congolese natives.
T - COL -CO 1908/N 51	News	April 23, 1908	London/ E.D Morel ( The Congo Association	The Congo Question	Politics: Justice for the natives	International solidarity	The Congo Reform Association in London condemning Leopold's rule in the Congo.

T - COL-CO 1908/ N 52	News	April 23, 1908	Reform) Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Congo Debate	Politics	Business ( Non-existent other)	Socialists &d liberals in the Belgian Parliament fail to agree on the annexation plan and its administration.
T-COL-CO 1908/N 53	News	April 23, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	The Congo Debate	Politics	Business/Non-existent other	Organising the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 54	News	April 24, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo: Proceedings In The Chamber	Politics	Justice for the Congolese	Debates in the Belgian Parliament over annexation plans.
T - COL-CO 1908/ N 55	News	April 24, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo: Referendum Proposal Rejected	Politics	Exclusion of the natives (Nonexistent other)	Annexation discussions in the Chamber of Belgian senators.
T-COL-CO 1908/N 56	News	April 25, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Belgium and The Congo	Politics	Business	Discussions over administration of the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 57	News	April 27, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo Debate: The Minister of Justice	Politics	Business and profits	Profits to be made out of the Congo.
T-COL-CO 1908/N 58	News	April 28, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Arguments for Annexation	Politics	Business and profit	Annexation as the best way to deal with abuses and slavery in the Congo.
T - COL-CO 1908/ N	News	April 30, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and The Congo: Liberal Party	Politics	Compassion for the natives( International Solidarity)	The leader of the Liberal Party supports annexation plans to improve the natives

59									lifestyle.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 60	News	May 1, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Compassion for women natives( International Solidarity)	Colonial laws to be reformed to protect the natives.		
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 61	News	May 2, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Congo Debate	Politics	Compassion and sympathy for the natives( International solidarity)	Railways to be built to connect Katanga region to the rest of the country.		
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 62	News	May 4, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Congo Debate	Politics	Civilisation of the natives( Natives to be civilised)	Colonisation to improve natives conditions and lifestyle.		
T-COL- CO 1908/N 63	News	May 6, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Opposition to Annexation	Politics	Business	Discussing the cost of running the Congo after annexation.		
T-COL- CO 1908/ N 64	News	May 7, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Congo Debate	Politics	Business/ running the Congo	Debate on annexation treaty.		
T-COL- CO 1908/N 65	News	May 7, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Growth of the Public opinion	Politics	International solidarity for the Congo	Annexation plans fully supported & backed internationally.		
T - COL - CO- 1908/ N 66	News	May 16, 1908	Berlin/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Emperor William and King Leopold	Politics	Civilisation of the Congolese natives	King Leopold to seek support on Berlin act against attacks from Congo Reforms Association (Britain and USA).		
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 67	News	May 16, 1908	London/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Situation in the Congo	Politics	Exploitation, abuse and illegal trade/ Human right abuse	A British missionary speaks out about the situation in the Congo and the King's agents abuses.		



T - COL - CO 1908/N 68	News	May 29, 1908	London/ Rev Bond ( British missionary in the Congo)	The Congo State	Politics	slavery	Missionaries from other countries mistreated in the Congo by the King of the Belgians colonial agents.
T - COL- CO 1908/N 69	News	June 5, 1908	Brussels/ Sir Arthur Harding, the British Minister in Brussels	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Justice for the natives	The annexation treaty to be discussed & clarified in the Belgian parliament.
T - COL - CO 1908/N 70	News	June 6, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	business and exploitation	British authorities discussing profits to be made out of the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/N 71	News	June 11, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Business and profits to made in the Congo	The Belgian Chamber discussing profits to be made out of the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/N 72	News	June 15, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	United States Memorandum	Politics	Compassion for the natives( International solidarity)	American urging the Belgian government to respect the Berlin Act and to humanise the natives.
T - COL - CO 1908/N 73	News	June 16, 1908	London/ British Foreign Office	Anglo-Belgian Correspondence	Politics	Business	British authorities interfering with Belgian administration
T - COL-CO 1908/N 74	News	June 17, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgian Press and Great Britain	Politics	Business and profits	Pressure from British authorities to Brussels over the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/N 75	News	June 17, 1908	Brussels/ Representatives of Journal de Bruxelles	The Congo Question	Politics	International solidarity	USA and Britain urging Belgium to take up the Congo's administration.
T - COL		June 17, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The</i>	Belgian Trade	Business	Rubber business from	Unbalance business

- CO 1908/ N 76	News		<i>Times</i> correspondent	with the Congo	article	the Congo	relationship between the Congo and Belgium.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 77	News	June 20, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Debate in the Chamber	Business	Business	Business & profit to be made as the main condition for annexation of the Congo to Belgium.
T - COL-CO 1908/ N 78	News	June 25, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Debate on annexation	Politics	Business	Endless discussions between Britain, USA, Belgium and Germany over control of the Congo.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 79	News	July 1, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	New British Memorandum	Politics	Business	British interventions.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 80	News	July 3, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgian Premier's speech	Politics	Control of the Congo's natural resources( Business)	Congo's natural resources to be controlled by Belgian government.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 81	News	July 4, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	M. Renkin on the Legal Aspect	Politics	Business and profits	Belgian authorities want to separate financial budget between Belgian government and the Congo as a colony.
T - COL -CO 1908/ N 82	News	July 10, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Debate in the Chamber	Politics	Business	Socialists and liberals discussing colonial laws prior to annexation.
T - COL- CO 1908/ N 83	News	July 15, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	From the Cape to the Congo	Business article	Business, exploitation of Congolese mineral resources	Business deals to exports and exploits minerals from Katanga region to British companies in Cape town (South Africa).

T - COL - CO 1908/ N 84	News	July 16, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Anti - Annexation Speeches	Politics	Compassion and justice for the Natives( International solidarity)	Anti-annexation groups in Belgian condemn the colonisation and annexation.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 85	News	July 17, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Proceedings in the Chamber	Politics	Justice for the natives	Disagreements over Colonial laws.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 86	News	July 17, 1908	London/ The Congo Association Reform ( Britain and USA)	Consuls in the Congo State	Politics	Justice for the natives	British imposing themselves.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 87	News	July 23, 1908	London/ The Congo Association Reform ( Britain and USA)	The Congo Question	Politics	business	British authorities urging Belgian government to review the annexation treaty before they admit it.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 88	News	August 3, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Debate on the Colonial Law	Politics	Business/ International solidarity	British authorities urging Brussels to amend Colonial laws for the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 89	News	August 4, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Views of the United States	Politics	Forced labour and abuse of the natives (Exploitation)	American authorities support Britain in putting pressure on Belgians.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 90	News	August 20, 1908	Brussels/ The Belgian Chamber	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Business and profits	Britain in business with Belgians in the Congo.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 91	News	August 21, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	Annexation voted by the Chamber	Politics	Congo to be annexed to Belgium and to be colonised	Congo to be annexed to Belgium and the Belgian government to buy the Crown domain

T - COL - CO 1908/ N 92	News	August 22, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Results of the Annexation vote.	Politics	Natives to be civilised	from the King.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 93	News	August 24, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	The Press and the Annexation vote	Politics	Civilisation and Business	Belgian government to treat the natives better than King Leopold's colonial agents.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 94	News	August 28, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	The Congo Treaty	Politics	exclusion of the natives (Non-existent other)	Belgian authorities promise to treat the natives better than King Leopold's agents.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 95	News	September 9, 1908	Brussels/ The Belgian Senate	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Children	Annexation plan and debate all done in Brussels.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 96	News	September 10, 1908	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Treaty Adopted by the Belgian Senate	Politics	Congo becomes part of Belgium	Congo to pay King Leopold's debts.
T - COL- CO 1908/ N 97	News	November 24, 1908	London/ Foreign Office	Belgium and the Congo	Politics	Abuse, bullying, International solidarity	The treaty of annexation of Congo to Belgium voted.
T - COL - CO 1908/ N 98	News	December 16, 1908	London/ E.D. Morel ( The Congo Association Reform)	The Congo Question	Politics	International solidarity	British intervention.
T - COL- CO 1908/ N 99	News	December 22, 1908	London/ The British worker in the Congo ( The Secretary of the Kasai	The Congo Question	Politics	International solidarity	The Congo Reform Association pushing for reforms.
							Belgian reacts to British interventions.

T - COL -CO 1908/ N 100	News	December 23, 1908	Company) London/ British authorities	The Congo Question	Politics	International solidarity	British authorities support the natives while making profits out of the Congo.
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Table 3.1. Post-colonial commentaries: 17 articles (12 commentaries and five letters)

<i>The Times</i> Newspapers Coding 1960 Commentaries/ Editorials							
Coding	Category	Publication year/Date	Place/source/author	Subject/Topic	Language used	Stereotype	Comment
T-POST- COL – CO- COM/ 1960 /1	Editorials/ Leader	March 9, 1960	London/British authorities	Congo Gamble	Politics	Business	British authorities concerns over the Congo independence.
T-POST- COL – CO- COM/ 1960 /2	Editorial/ Leaders	July 9, 1960	London/British authorities	Congo Lesson	Politics	Lack of education and expertise	Congolese to work with Belgian colonialists.
T-POST- CO - COM 1960/3	Letter	July 15, 1960	Nairobi/ Charles Markham ( British Civil Servant)	Congo Lesson	Politics	Post- independence unrest	Congolese unfit to administer and run their country.
T-POST- COL - CO- COM 1960 / 4	Letter	July 18, 1960	Manchester/ W.J.M Mackenzi	Congo Lesson	Politics	Post- independence unrest	Congolese natives should not have been granted independence.
T-POST- COL- CO- COM 1960 /5	Letter	July 22, 1960	London/ E. Mills ( British authority)	Congo Lesson	Politics	Post- independence unrest	Congolese independence tragedy serving as an example for other British.

T-POST-COL - CO-COM 1960/6	Letter	July 26, 1960	London/ Macmillan	Congo Lesson	Politics	Violence, tribal clashes	Colonialists in the region Congolese natives need support from Europeans.
T-POST COL - CO-COM 1960/7	Letter	July 27, 1960	London/ J. Grimond, House of Commons	Lessons of the Congo	Politics	Post-independence unrest	The UN to be in charge & to reorganise the country.
T-POST COL - CO-COM 1960/8	Letter	August 4, 1960	London/ Miriam Grenfell	Congo Refugees	Politics	Post-independence unrest	Congolese natives killing Belgians.
T-POST-COL-COM 1960/ 9	Letter	August 5, 1960	London/ Clement Chesterman	The Congo's Future	Politics	Congolese natives can't run their own country	The UN to be in charge of the country.
T-POST COL - CO- 1960/10	Letter	August 6, 1960	Oxford/ Robert Sincourt	Lessons of the Congo	Politics	Post-independence unrest	The Congo's failure to be used as an excuse for British colonialists to stay on and colonise other neighbouring countries.
T-POST COL - CO-COM 1960/11	Letter	August 17, 1960	Berkshire/ Margery Perham	Congo Challenge	Politics	lack of experience and education	Congolese natives to be trained.

T-Post COL- CO- COM 1960/12	Letter	August 20, 1960	London/ House of Commons	Congo	Politics	Post- independence unrest	The UN orders Belgians to withdraw their troops in the Congo.
T-POST -COL- CO- COM 1960/ 13	Letter	August 22, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> Special Correspondent	Congo	Politics	Post- independence unrest	Uganda and Kenya to host Belgian Congolese Refugees.
T-POST- COL - CO- COM 1960/ 14	Editorial/Leaders	September 7, 1960	London/ Unnamed author	Sharp Shift in the Congo	Politics	Post- independence unrest	Outside interventions.
T-POST - COL- COM 1960/15	Editorial/Leaders	September 16, 1960	London/ unnamed source	Congo Gamble	politics	Ethnicity, tribal wars	The UN to restore order.
T-POST- - COL- CO- COM 1960/ 16	Editorial/Leaders	October 26, 1960	London/Unnamed source	The Congo Crisis	Internal crisis	Tribal clashes/ Insecurity	The UN to intervene.
T-POST -COL- COM 1960 / 17	Letter	November 9, 1960	London/G. Hall	Prisoner in the Congo	Politics	Insecurity	A British man arrested by the UN troops in the Congo.

Table 3.2. Post-colonial news Stories: 196 articles

*The TIMES 1960: NEWS STORIES*

Coding	News	Publication Year/Date	Place/source/author	Subject/Topic	Language	Stereotype	Comment
T-POST-COL-CO-1960/N 1	News	January 1, 1960	Coquilhatville/Reuter	Big crowds cheer King Baudouin	Politics	Independence preparations	King Baudouin to visit to the ahead of Independence.
T-POST-COL-CO-1960/N 2	News	January 2, 1960	Brussels/Unnamed author	King Baudouin Home to-day	Politics	Independence preparations	King Baudouin on a tour of the colony.
T-Post Col-CO-1960/N 3	News	January 3, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Congo leaders reassured	Politics	Independence preparations	Preparations of the independence.
T-POST-COL-CO-1960/N 4	News	January 7, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo conference in sight	Politics	Independence preparations	Preparations for the upcoming independence.
T-POST-COL-CO-1960/N 5	News	January 11, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo pledge from King Baudouin	Politics	Independence preparations	Talks on Congo's administration after independence.
T-POST-COL-CO-1960/N 6	News	January 18, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Emergency in two Congo areas	Politics	Tribal clashes in Kasai region	Baluba clashes in Kasai.
T-POST-CO-CO-1960/N 7	News	January 21, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Talks on Congo independence begin	Politics	Independence preparations	Round table between Belgian authorities and Congolese.
T-Post COL-CO-1960/N 8	News	January 22, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Congo national leader gaoled	Politics	Independence preparations	Lumumba to be released to attend independence conference in Belgium.
T-POST-COL-CO-1960/N 9	News	January 26, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Independence on June 1 Demanded	Politics	Independence preparations	The Congolese leaders urging for a quick independence.



T-Post COL-CO- 1960/N 10	News	January 27, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Brussels welcome for Lumumba	Politics	Congo Impatience for independence	Congolese natives want independence soon.
T-POST- COL-CO- 1960/N 11	News	January 28, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Independence for Congo on June 30	Politics	Independence preparations	The date of independence fixed.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 12	News	February 2, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Organising Congo Independence	Politics	Independence preparations	Talks in Brussels and violence back in the Congo.
T-POST COL-CO- 1960/N 13	News	February 11, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Full Independence for Congo	Politics	Independence preparation	Kasavubu urging immediate appointment of a provisional government.
T-POST COL-CO- 1960/N 14	News	February 15, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Need to create confidence in Congo	Politics	Independence preparations	Planning financial future of the Congo.
T-POST COL-CO- 1960/N 15	News	February 16, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo chief of state	Politics	Independence preparations	Discussions on the role of King Baudouin after independence.
T-POST COL-CO- 1960/N 16	News	February 18, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Planning Congo's independence	Politics	Independence preparations	Six Congolese natives to be appointed to cooperate with Belgian authorities.
T-POST COL-CO 1960/N 17	News	February 19, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Crown Council in Brussels	Politics	Independence preparations	Discussions on the future of the Congo.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 18	News	February 22, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	End of Brussels talks on Congo	Politics	Independence preparations	Belgian authorities and Congolese natives to work together.
T-POST- COL-CO	News	February 29, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Party manoeuvres in the Congo	Politics	Tribal clashes	Tribal disputes among leaders

1960/N 19	News	March 4, 1960	Salisbury(Rhod)/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo Africans fear Uprising	Politics	Tribal clashes	Katanga tries to associate with Rhodesia.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 20	News	March 4	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Protest by Belgian government	Politics	Business	The Belgian prime minister Mr Eyskens opposes the idea that Katanga should become part of Rhodesia.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 21	News	March 7, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Special correspondent	Harsh Realities for Belgium: Economy threatened by the Congo and the Coal Industry's Crisis	Politics	Parents- children relationship between Belgium and the Congo	Belgian authorities over the outcome of Independence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 23	News	March 10, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgian retort to French claim	Politics	Business	Discussions between Belgium, Britain and France over business in the Congo after independence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 24	News	March 18, 1960	Brussels/Unnamed author	Congo arrest reach 500 total	Politics	Tribal clashes	Fight between Baluba immigrants and Katanga natives
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 25	News	March 23, 1960	Elisabethville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Tension eases in Belgian Congo	Politics	Tribal clashes	Tribal disputes between Baluba and Katanga natives
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 26	News	April 20, 1960	Elisabethville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Doubts as Congo Africans' first election Approaches	Politics	First elections among the Congolese leaders	Belgians worried over their future after independence.

T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 27	News	April 20, 1960	Luluabourg 20, 1960	Troops action in Belgian Congo	Politics	Tribal clashes	Baluba tribesmen in Luluabourg.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 28	News	April 22, 1960	Luluabourg/Unnamed author	Death in Congo Tribal Raid	Politics	Tribal clashes	Tribal rivalries in Kasai.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 29	News	April 23, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	No survivors from Airliner Crash	Accident	Accident	35 people killed in aircraft accident in the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ 30	News	April 27, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Brussels Conference on Congo Economy	Politics	Independence preparations	Belgian authorities and Congolese natives anxious about the economy after independence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 31	News	May 2, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Submission order to Congo tribes	Politics	Tribal clashes	Clashes between Lulua and Baluba in Kasai.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/32	News	May 10, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Africans killed in Congo clashes	Politics	Tribal clashes	Tribal clashes ahead of independence in Leopoldville.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 33	News	May 14, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo clashes	Politics	Tribal clashes	Tribal clashes all over the country over the elections of the National Assembly.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 34	News	May 16, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Wider power for Congo local forces	Politics	Tribal clashes	Tribal fights over the elections of the Congolese leaders
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 35	News	May 17, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium sending more troops to Congo	Politics	Insecurity	More troops in the Congo to protect Belgian nationals and to keep order.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 36	News	May 18, 1960	Stanleyville/ Unnamed correspondent	Congo 'King' Defies Belgians	Politics	Independence agitations	Lumumba opposes the presence of Belgian forces in

T -POST-COL-CO 1960 / 37	News	May 19, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Qualified welcome for Economic plan	Business article	Independence preparations	the Congo Economic future after independence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960 / N 38	News	May 21, 1960	Leopoldville/ May 20	Congo Test of efficiency for 24,000 African troops	Politics	Independence preparations	Organising the Congolese army ahead of independence
T -POST-COL-CO 1960 / N 39	News	May 23, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Bargaining or coalition	Politics	Peaceful elections/ Independence preparations	Elections of the Political parties leaders.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960 / N 40	News	May 24, 1960	Leopoldville/ Unnamed author	Four voters in Congo hacked to death	Politics	Tribal clashes	Violence during elections in Katanga region.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960 / N 41	News	May 25	Brazzaville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Congo Republic hopes of full independence	Politics	Tribal division	Abbe Fulbert Youlou of Brazzaville wants all the Bakongo people in Belgian Congo to be part of the Bakongo in the Bakongo in Congo Brazzaville.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960 / N 42	News	May 27, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	New Radio Station in The Congo: Precautionary Move	Politics	Business and profits	Belgian's administration panic as Independence's approaches.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 43	News	May 27, 1960	Unnamed location/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Portuguese Building up forces in Angola	Politics	Independence anxieties	Portuguese in Angola worried over independence in the neighbouring Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 44	News	June 3, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed author	New Demand by Mr. Lumumba	Politics	First Congolese leader	Lumumba voted in by Congolese as the head of the

T-POST-COL-CO 1960/N 45	News	June 7, 1960	Lisbon/Unnamed author		Concern at Congo unrest	Politics	Independence preparations	Neighbouring Angola worried over the upcoming independence in the Congo.	National Movement Party.
T-POST-COL-CO 1960/N 46	News	June 9, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed correspondent		Congo Party forms rival government	Politics	Tribal division	Anarchy and divisions among political parties	
T-POST-COL-CO 1960/N 47	News	June 10, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Special correspondent		Steadying hand in the Congo's changes	Politics	Business and profits	Belgian government concerned about their businesses and Companies in the Congo.	
T-POST-COL-CO 1960/N 48	News	June 15, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent		Mr Lumumba trying to form Congo cabinet	Politics	The Congolese first leader	Lumumba to form the government.	
T-POST-COL-CO 1960/N 49	News	June 16, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed correspondent		Two posts in demand in Congo cabinet	Politics	First Congolese cabinet	Tribal division as Lumumba puts in place the first government.	
T-POST-COL-CO 1960/N 50	News	June 17, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent		Congo parliament meets today	Politics	First Congolese cabinet	Independence preparation/division among Congolese leaders.	
T-POST-COL-CO 1960/N 51	News	June 18, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent		Double crisis in Congo	Politics	First Congolese government	Lumumba to form the first Congolese government.	
T-POST-COL-CO 1960/N 52	News	June 20, 1960	Bukavu / <i>The Times</i> Special correspondent		Capital of the Congo A city of Rumour: An easiness as day of Independence approaches	Politics	Insecurity /Independence unrest	Congolese natives unable to organise the government.	

T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 53	News	June 20, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo failure to reconcile rivals	Politics	The first Congolese cabinet	Disputes between Lumumba and Kasavubu over the formation of the cabinet prior to independence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ 54	News	June 21, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo government changes improve	Politics	First Congolese cabinet	Lumumba let Kasavubu be the head of State as he stays the head of the government.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 55	News	June 22, 1960	Brussels/ Unnamed author	Big victory for Mr. Lumumba	Politics	First Congolese cabinet	Lumumba wins the votes in the National Assembly but let Kasavubu be the head of state to keep peace and harmony.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 56	News	June 23, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed author	Setback to Congo settlement	Politics	First Congolese cabinet	Disputes/ divisions among Congolese leaders
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 57	News	June 24, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed author	First Cabinet for Congo	Politics	First Congolese cabinet	Lumumba to be the first prime minister and in charge of the government.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 58	News	June 25, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed author	Congo head of State	Politics	Congolese first head of State	Kasavubu becomes Congolese first head of State.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 59	News	June 27, 1960	Unnamed location/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Tribalist leader as head of new Congo	Politics	Congolese first head of State	The Congolese Parliament elects Kasavubu as the first head of State.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 60	News	June 27, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	King Baudouin Going To The Congo	Politics	Independence day celebrations	Joseph Kasavubu to be the president & protests from Albert Kalonji.

T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 61	News	June 28, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	King Baudouin going to Congo	Politics	Independence preparation	King Baudouin coming to witness Congolese independence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 62	News	June 29, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	New Congo state to enforce unity	Politics	Independence preparation	Lumumba to meet the armed forces & clashes in the Capital.
T-POST-COL-CO 1960/N 63	News	June 30, 1960	Leopoldville/unnamed author	African seizes Belgian King's sword	Politics	Independence celebrations	King Baudouin in Kinshasa to celebrate Independence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 64	News	July 1, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Belgium attacked at Congo Ceremony	Politics	Independence	Lumumba speaks out about Belgian colonialism.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 65	News	July 2, 1960	Elizabethville ( Katanga)/ <i>The Times</i> correspondence	Congo parties shelve disputes	Politics	Post independence disputes	Celebrations of Independence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 66	News	July 4, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Troops put down disturbances	Politics	Tribal violence	Tribal violence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 67	News	July 5, 1960	Coquilhatville/Unnamed author	Forces Reply to Arrow Attack	Politics	Violence/Insecurity	Widespread violence after independence.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 68	News	July 6, 1960	Luluabourg/unnamed author	Intertribal Fighting	Politics	Tribal violence	Tribal wars.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 69	News	July 8, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> Special Correspondent	Planner Of The Congo Defence Force	Politics	Disagreement in the hierarchy	General Janssen resigns and Lumumba takes up his responsibility.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 70	News	July 8, 1960	London/ Diplomatic Correspondence	Concern for Safety of Britons in The Congo	Politics	Unrest/Insecurity	Britons to be evacuated out of the Congo for safety.

T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 71	News	July 8, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgians flee from Congo	Politics		Post-independence Unrest	Anarchy in the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 72	News	July 9, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Army to be commanded by Congolese	Politics		Violence/ unrest	Violence and racial attacks.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 73	News	July 12, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Katanga breaks away from the Congo	Politics		Tribal division	Moise Tshombe breaks away Katanga from the rest of the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 74	News	July 13, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium undecided over recognising Katanga	Politics		Tribalism/division	Post-Independence Anarchy and confusion in the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 75	News	July 13, 1960	New York/ <i>The Times</i> Correspondent	UN civilian Team for Congo	Politics		UN intervention	Military aid for the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 76	News	July 13, 1960	Léopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgian troops withdraw from Congo Port	Politics		Disorder/unrest/ Confusion	Confusion in the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 77	News	July 14, 1960	Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia)	Congo Refugees	Politics		Refugees/ Insecurity/Unrest	Congolese Refugees in Rhodesia/ Uganda
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 78	News	July 14, 1960	London/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Ghana offers troops to the Congo	Politics		UN intervention	Un to ease tension/unrest in the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 79	News	July 15, 1960	Kampala/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Refugees' Report	Politics		Refugees	Congolese refugees in Uganda and Sudan.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 80	News	July 15, 1960	New York/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	UN troops in the Congo	Politics		UN intervention	Violence/ confusion in the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 81	News	July 15, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo breaks off relations with Belgium	Politics		Post independence Unrest	Congo breaks diplomatic relations with Belgium.
T -POST-	News	July 16,	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i>	Belgian forces in	Politics		UN intervention	UN to restore order



COL-CO 1960/ N 82		1960	Correspondent	the Congo to withdraw to bases			in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 83	News	July 16, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed author	First Units of UN Troops in the Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Disorder in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 84	News	July 16, 1960	Nairobi/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Greeks expelled from Congo	Politics	Refugees	Greek Congolese suspects in Kenya.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 85	News	July 18, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Polish Arms ship sent to Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Polish and Moroccan troops in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 86	News	July 19, 1960	Bukavu / <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo Belgians wait for storm to blow over	Politics	Post independence unrest	Anxiety of Congolese Belgians.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 87	News	July 19, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed author	UN troops killed in Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Fight between Congolese militia men and Moroccan troops.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 88	News	July 20, 1960	Dublin/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	EIRE Battalion for Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Irish troops in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 89	News	July 20, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgian troops to leave Leopoldville this week	Politics	Post independence Unrest	Belgian troops to leave the country, division among Congolese leaders.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 90	News	July 20, 1960	New York/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	MR Hammar skjold for Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Confusion in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 91	News	July 21, 1960	Paris/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Outside influences in Congo opposed	Politics	Outside interference	French authorities denounce foreign interference in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 92	News	July 21, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	UN extends hold on Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Lumumba invites Russian to help in the Congo.
T -POST-	News	July 21,	London/ <i>The Times</i>	Congo discussions	Politics	Post independence	British authorities

COL-CO 1960/ 93		1960	political correspondent	at 10, Downing Street		unrest	concerned over the situation in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 94	News	July 21, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Mr Lumumba to report personally to UN	Politics	UN intervention	Lumumba to go to the UN headquarters in New York.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 95	News	July 25, 1960	Washington/ <i>The Time</i> correspondent	Scepticism in US over contract	Business & Politics	Business	US to develop the resources of the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 96	News	July 25, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> Special correspondent	UN action endangered by Congo dispute	Politics	UN intervention	Conflict between Belgian authorities and the UN.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 97	News	July 27, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Congo Minister Criticizes US contract	Business/Politics	Business	Confusions among Congoese leaders.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 98	News	July 29, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Time</i> Special correspondence	Congo's welcome for MR. Hamarskjold	Politics	UN intervention	UN intervention.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 99	News	July 30, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> Special correspondent	Belgium to withdraw 1,500 troops at once	Politics	UN intervention	UN interventions. Lumumba seeking support abroad.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 100	News	August 1, 1960	Ottawa/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Canadian signallers for Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Canada to help ease the crisis in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 101	News	August 1, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondence	Congo leaders lose patience with UN	Politics	UN intervention	Leaders concerns over the Katanga secession.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 102	News	August 2, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondence	Police called to Congo pay troubles	Politics	UN intervention	Unpaid workers claim their salaries in violence.
T -POST- COL-CO	News	August 6, 1960	St Andrews	One sided Congo Reports	Media politics	Unfair reporting of the Congo	Bias on reporting the Congo

1960/N 103									
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 104	News	August 8, 1960	Leopoldville/unnamed author	Breakaway threat in Lower Congo	Politics	Post independence unrest	Division in the Congo.		
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 105	News	August 9, 1960	New York/ <i>The Times</i> UN correspondent	Peace or war issue in the Congo	Politics	UN intervention	UN demands withdrawal of the Belgian troops.		
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 106	News	August 10, 1960	New York/ <i>The Times</i> UN correspondent	UN chief in talks with Belgians	Politics	UN intervention	UN intervention in Katanga region to convince Tshombe not to break the unity of the Congo.		
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ 107	News	August 12, 1960	New York/ <i>The Times</i> UN correspondent	MR. Hammaraskjold Returns to the Congo	Politics	UN intervention	UN secretary in Katanga region.		
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 108	News	August 13, 1960	London/ Dr Fisher, archbishop of Canterbury	Primate back from East Africa	Politics	Post independence unrest	Concerns of the unrest in the Congo to spread in the region.		
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 109	News	August 17, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Congo 'State of siege' for six months	Politics	Post independence unrest	Disputes between the Congo and Belgium.		
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 110	News	August 18/1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgian Parliament Debates Congo debacle	Politics	Post independence unrest	Belgian authorities guilty for not preparing Congolesse successors enough to take up the responsibilities.		
T -POST- COL-CO	News	August 18, 1960	Leopoldville/ unnamed correspondent	Congo Troops 'for Katanga'	Politics	Post independence unrest	Congolesse troops to attack and take		

1960/N 111								back Katanga.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 112	News	August 20, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Security Council to meet Tomorrow	Politics		UN intervention	UN talks to solve the Congolese crisis.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/ 113	News	August 22, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Time</i> special correspondent	Administrative nightmare of conditions in Congo	Politics		Post independence unrest	Confusion and chaos.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 114	News	August 22, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Mr Hammarskjold replies to Mr Lumumba	Politics		UN intervention	Confusions between Lumumba and the UN secretary.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 115	News	August 23, 1960	Unnamed location/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Indian's Task in Congo Turmoil	Politics		UN intervention	India to intervene in the Congo.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 116	News	August 25, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	New communities hears Congo report	Politics		UN intervention	UN seeking a solution to the Congolese crisis.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/ 117	News	August 26, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Congo police fire on demonstrators	Politics		Post independence unrest	Endless violence in the Congo.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 118	News	August 27, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	UN official sent to Congo	Politics		UN intervention	Post independence crisis.
T-POST- COL-CO	News	August 27, 1960	Unnamed location/ <i>The Times</i> diplomatic correspondent	US firm's Congo agreement	Business article		Business	US making business contracts despite the crisis in

1960/N 119							the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 120	News	August 29, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Congo troops take Kasai rebel centre	Politics	Post independence unrest	Tribal wars in Kasai region.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 121	News	August 30, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> Special correspondent	Mr Bunche on deep Congo misunderstandings	Politics	Post independence unrest	Confusions in the Congo (Congolese leaders and UN mission).
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 122	News	August 31, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	UN 's giant task in the Congo	Politics	UN intervention	UN to run the country.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 123	News	September 3, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	Russia sends troop aircraft to Congo	Politics	Post independence unrest	Outside interferences.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 123	News	September 5, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> Special Correspondent	Russians Tightening Their Grip On The Congo	Politics	Post independence unrest	Russian's occupation of the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 124	News	September 7, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	UN closes all Congo airfields	Politics	Foreign interferences	Disputes between Russia and the UN.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 125	News	September 7, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	No UN session planned	Politics	Post independence unrest	Civil war in the country.

T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 126	News	September 8, 1960	Moscow/ Reuter	Imperialist plot against Congo	Politics	Post independence unrest	Russian interventions.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 227	News	September 8, 1960	Washington/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	US asks Russia to halt aircraft for Congo	Politics	Post independence unrest	USA & Russia dispute over the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 128	News	September 10, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Security council faces Congo 'Shadow'	Politics	Post independence unrest	Disputes between UN & Russia.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 129	News	September 12, 1960	Leopoldville/ Unnamed author	Ghana troops halt Mr Lumumba	Politics	Post independence unrest	Confusion in the country.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 130	News	September 12, 1960	Leopoldville/ Unnamed author	Ghana troops halt Mr. Lumumba	Politics	Post independence unrest	Chaos in the country.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 131	News	September 13, 1960	Unnamed location and source	Russia must not take Congo	Politics	Post independence unrest	Disputes over the control of the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 132	News	September 13, 1960	Cairo/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Cairo recalls its troops	Politics	Post independence unrest	The United Arab condemns the UN actions in the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N	News	September 14, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	UN switch to position of strict neutrality	Politics	Post independence unrest	Confusions in the country.

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T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 134	News	September 15, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	New army chief ‘takes power in Congo’	Politics		Post independence unrest	Colonel Mobutu suspends the president Kasavubu & Mr Lumumba as he takes charge of the country.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 135	News	September 17, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Russian veto on Congo foreseen in security council	Politics		UN intervention	Russia and UN disputes over the control of the Congo.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N136	News	September 19, 1960	London/Mr. Brockway	Commission for Congo proposed	Politics		Post independence unrest	London authorities suggest that the last solution should come from Congolese themselves.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 137	News	September 21, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Heads of State gather at United Nations	Politics		UN intervention	UN to trying to solve the crisis.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ 138	News	September 21, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> special correspondent	More Congo massacres	Politics		UN intervention	Killings in the Katanga region.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/139	News	September 26, 19 60	Leopoldville/ Reuter	Congo attempt at reconciliation	Politics		Post independence unrest	Mobutu attempts to reconcile Kasavubu and Lumumba.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/140	News	September 28, 1960	Cambridge/ <i>The Times</i> Special Correspondent	Prostitution In The Congo	Social		Poverty	The Congo's prostitution of young girls due to Poverty.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 141	News	September 28, 1960	Leopoldville/ Reuter	Round table conference call	Politics		Post independence unrest	Congolese trying to solve their crisis	
T -POST-	News	September	Leopoldville/unnamed	Only legal Congo	Politics		Post independence	Congolese trying to	

COL-CO 1960/N 142	29, 1960	author	government		unrest	settle their differences at a conference.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 143	September 30, 1960	New York/ Report from the Congolese Foreign minister Mr Justin Bomboko and Colonel Mobutu.	Russian Accused of Supplying Arms To The Congo	Politics	Post independence unrest	Russian interfering in the Congolese crisis.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 144	October 3, 1960	Geneva/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Disease treat in Congo	World health article	Epidemic disease	Warning from the world health organisation of the epidemic disease in the Congo.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 145	October 5, 1960	Singapore/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Malaysians sail to join UN force	Politics	UN intervention	Malaysia to join the UN forces in Congo
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 146	October 11, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent.	Congo demands surrender of Mr. Lumumba	Politics	Post independence unrest	Lumumba to be arrested by the Congolese forces.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 147	October 13, 1960	Leopoldville/ Unnamed author	Uneasy calm in Congo	Politics	Post independence unrest	Disputes over the UN and the Congolese authorities over the arrest of Lumumba.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 148	October 13, 1960	Brussels/Reuter	Ex Congo settlers clash with police	Politics	Demonstrations in Brussels	Ex settlers demanding compensation from the Belgian authorities.
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 149	October 15, 1960	Leopoldville/ Reuter	Congo Leader slashed	Politics	Post independence unrest	Violence between among Congolese leaders.
T -POST-	October 18,	Unnamed	Air Technicians	Education/Training	Congolese to be	International civil



COL-CO 1960/N 150		1960	location/Aeronautical correspondent	for Congo		trained/lack of expertise	Aviation to train Congoese natives.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 151	News	October 20, 1960	Leopoldville/ Reuter	Congo arrests by Colonel Mobutu	Politics	Post independence unrest	Violence between Congoese leaders.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 152	News	October 24, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Congo power switches to Mr Lumumba again	Politics	Post independence unrest	Confusion between Congoese political factions.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 153	News	October 25, 1960	Leopoldville/ Unnamed author	Congo troops continue to run wild	Politics	Post independence violence	Anarchy and confusion in the Congo.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 154	News	October 26, 1960	New York/UN correspondent	UN facing financial crisis over Congo	Politics	UN intervention	UN running out of fund to settle the on-going Congoese crisis.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 155	News	October 28, 1960	Leopoldville/ Reuter	Congo troops withdraw to barracks	Politics	Post independence unrest	Congoese troops withdraw from the city.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 156	News	October 29, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgium prepares reply on Congo	Politics	Belgian interferences	Disputes between Belgian and the UN.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/ 1957	News	October 31, 1960	New York/ UN Correspondent	UN Sending conciliation mission to Congo	Politics	Un intervention	Confusion in the country.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 158	News	November 1, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Russia and Poland dispute with UN in the Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Russia and Poland disagree with UN mission in the Congo.
T-POST-	News	November	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i>	Belgian denial on	Politics	UN intervention	Dispute between

COL-CO 1960/ N 159		2, 1960	correspondent	Congo			Belgian and the UN over the control of the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 160	News	November 3, 1960	Luluabourg/ Unnamed author	Devon man who signed on in A Congo Army	Politics	Tribal clashes	Violence in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 161	News	November 4, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	UN complaint of Belgians in Congo	Politics	UN intervention	UN and Belgian dispute over the Congo's situation.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 162	News	November 5, 1960	Washington/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	US to defence of Belgians	Politics	Foreign interferences	US supporting Belgium to settle the Congolese crisis.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 163	News	November 7, 1960	New York/UN correspondent	UN faces clash over Dayal Report on Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Complicated UN mission in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 164	News	November 7, 1960	Kampala/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo-Uganda border incident	Politics	Boundaries discussions	The Congo disputing boundaries with Uganda.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 165	News	November 8, 1960	Brussels/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Paying the bill for Congo	Business article	Business	The Belgian prime minister Mr Eyskens explaining why Belgium should pay bills for the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 166	News	November 8, 1960	Moscow/Unnamed author	Mr Khrushchev on Sunset of Colonialism	Politics	Soviet intervention	Soviet policy in the Congo.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N	News	November 12, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed author	UN Troops fire over heads of Unruly Congo	Politics	UN intervention	Moroccan troops killing Congolese demonstrators.

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T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 168	News	November 14, 1960	Dublin/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Irish Army chiefs to visit Congo	Irish army chief to come to the Congo as part of UN mission.	Un intervention	Politics	Irish army chief to come to the Congo as part of UN mission.	Un intervention	Irish army chief to come to the Congo as part of UN mission.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 169	News	November 15, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Belgian treat to leave UN	Belgian authorities challenging UN mission in the Congo.	UN intervention	Politics	Belgian authorities challenging UN mission in the Congo.	UN intervention	Belgian authorities challenging UN mission in the Congo.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 170	News	November 21, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed author	Congo stabbing of Americans	Two American stabbed by a Congolese crowds of protesters.	Post independence unrest	Politics	Two American stabbed by a Congolese crowds of protesters.	Post independence unrest	Two American stabbed by a Congolese crowds of protesters.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ 171	News	November 22, 1960	New York/UN correspondent	Congo crisis drains UN treasury	The UN cost in the Congo.	UN intervention	Business article	The UN cost in the Congo.	UN intervention	The UN cost in the Congo.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ 172	News	November 22, 1960	Leopoldville/Unnamed author	Seven killed in Congo shooting	Violence in the Congo by foreign UN troops.	Post independence unrest	Politics	Violence in the Congo by foreign UN troops.	Post independence unrest	Violence in the Congo by foreign UN troops.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ 173	News	November 23, 1960	Delhi/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Belgian 'meddling' in Congo	Belgian supporting rebel leaders to divide the country.	Foreign interferences	Politics	Belgian supporting rebel leaders to divide the country.	Foreign interferences	Belgian supporting rebel leaders to divide the country.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 174	News	November 23, 1960	New York/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	UN assembly accepts MR Kasavubu	UN organising the country.	Un intervention	Politics	UN organising the country.	Un intervention	UN organising the country.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/ N 175	News	November 24, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Mr Kasavubu sees UN secretary	Kasavubu is recognised by UN as the president of the Congo.	UN intervention	Politics	Kasavubu is recognised by UN as the president of the Congo.	UN intervention	Kasavubu is recognised by UN as the president of the Congo.	
T -POST-COL-CO 1960/N 176	News	November 25, 1960	Delhi/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Mr. Nehru shocked by Congo events	Violence by angry Congolese crowd.	Post independence unrest	Politics	Violence by angry Congolese crowd.	Post independence unrest	Violence by angry Congolese crowd.	
T -POST-COL-CO	News	November 25, 1960	Leopoldville/ Report from the Congolese Vice	Tension In the Congo	Tunisian troops fighting Congolese	Violence and killings	Politics	Tunisian troops fighting Congolese	Violence and killings	Tunisian troops fighting Congolese	

1960/ N 177			Commissioner For Information					soldiers in Leopoldville, the Capital.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 178	News	November 26, 1960	Elisabethville/ Unnamed author	Conference of all Congo leaders	Politics	Peace talk	Congolese come together through UN mediation.	
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 179	News	December 2, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo expels United Arab Republican Ambassador	Politics	Post independence unrest	Confusion and chaos in the Congo.	
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 180	News	December 5, 1960	Leopoldville/Reuter	13 killed in Congo Reprisal	Politics	Post independence unrest	Lumumba's arrest and his supported killed.	
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 181	News	December 6, 1960	Moscow/ Reuter	Russia demands UN meeting on Congo	Politics	Foreign interferences	Russian intervention in the Congolese crisis.	
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 182	News	December 7, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	UN meeting on Congo Today	Politics	UN intervention	Russians against the Belgian presence in the Congo.	
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N183	News	December 8, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Request in UN for Congo Red cross inquiry	Politics	UN intervention	Russians and UN disputes over the Congo.	
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 184	News	December 9, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Congo move to paralyse the UN	Politics	UN intervention	Congolese leaders dispute with UN mission.	
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 185	News	December 9, 1960	Leopoldville/ <i>The Times</i> correspondent	Counting cost in the Congo	Business article	Un intervention	UN in the Congo mission.	
T -POST-	News	December	New York/ UN	Limits to UN	Politics	UN intervention	UN and Congolese	

COL-CO 1960/N 186		12, 1960	correspondent	powers in Congo Struggle			leaders fail to agree on the on-going the crisis.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ N 187	News	December 12, 1960	Leopoldville/ Reuter	Mr Gizenga claims power	Politics	Post independence unrest	Gizenga proclaim himself the prime minister and separate Stanleyville from the rest of the country.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 188	News	December 15, 1960	New York/ UN correspondent	Russian veto used again in UN Congo debate	Politics	UN intervention	Russian intervention to support Lumumba and his release from prison.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 189	News	December 17, 1960	Leopoldville/ Reuter	Austrians held by Congo troops	Politics	UN intervention	Disputes between Congolese and the UN troops.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 190	News	December 19, 1960	New York/UN correspondent	UN authority in the Congo	Politics	UN intervention	UN trying to settle the crisis.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/ 191	News	December 21, 1960	New York/UN correspondent	UN frustrated in Congo	Politics	UN intervention	UN challenges in trying to settle the Congolese crisis.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 192	News	December 23, 1960	Leopoldville/Reuter	Food airlift by UN in Congo	Politics	Famine	Congolese dying of hunger as a consequence of war.
T -POST- COL-CO 1960/N 193	News	December 24, 1960	Leopoldville/ Reuter	Refugees near starvation	Politics	Famine	Lack of food and water in Kasai region.
T -POST- COL-CO	News	December the 28,	New York/ UN correspondent	Mr. Hammaraskjold to	Politics	UN intervention	UN secretary visit to the Congo

1960/ N 194		1960		visit the Congo			
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 195	News	December 29, 1960	Elisabethville/Associated press	Train in Congo attacked by Tribesmen	Politics	Tribal clashes	Baluba tribesmen killing Congolese from Katanga region.
T-POST- COL-CO 1960/N 196	News	December 30, 1960	Elisabethville/Reuter	Congo train massacre denied	Politics	Tribal clashes	Tribal violence in Katanga region.

**Table 4. Modern Congo News Stories: 38 articles**

<i><b>THE TIMES NEWSPAPERS 2006 (T-MOD-CO-2006)</b></i> <b>NEWS STORIES 2006</b>							
<b>Coding</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Year of publication/Date</b>	<b>Place/Source/Author</b>	<b>Subject/Topic</b>	<b>Language used</b>	<b>Stereotype</b>	<b>Comment</b>
T- MOD- CO- 2006 N/1	News	January 24, 2006	Kinshasa, AP ( Associated Press)	Ambush Death	Brief and short story straight to the point	Violence	Eight Guatemala UN troops killed in Garamba Park by Ugandan Rebels.
T- MOD- CO- 2006/N2	News	January 30, 2006	No Source Indicated	Congo Limp into last eight	Brief and straight to the point	Sport	Congo Sport Team in the African Cup of Nations.
T- MOD- CO- 2006 N/3	News	February 5, 2006	Kinshasa, Richard Hoskins	Torment of Africa's Child Witches	Emotional story	Witchcraft	A Child being abandoned and sent back to the Congo by Parents from London because of the religion.
T- MOD- CO-	News	March 17, 2006	Lubumbashi, Reuters	Starved soldiers	Emotional story	Famine and Corruption	A Congolese General diverting food and starving his soldiers.

2006 N/4								
T- MOD- CO-N/5	News	April 3, 2006	Katanga, Jonathan Clayton	In a disease- ridden and Stinking Swamp, Thousand hide from war	Detailed Story	Poverty, War and misery	Congo described as a dangerous place full of Rebels.	
T- MOD- CO- 2006 N/6	News	April 10, 2006	Katanga, Jonathan Clayton	Betrayed By Elections, Child miners who risk their lives for \$1 a day	Emotional story	Poverty, child labour	Congolese Children working at the copper and cobalt mines for a low pay or nothing.	
T- MOD- CO- 2006 N/7	News	May 20, 2006	Garamba Park, Sam Kiley	Special Force On A Mission To Save The Rhino	Descriptive story	Education	British former soldiers training rangers in the Congo.	
T- MOD- CO- 2006 N/8	News	May 21, 2006	Kinshasa, Reuters	Coup Arrests	Short and straight to the point story	Violence	Coup attempt to Joseph Kabila.	
T- MOD- CO N/9	News	May 30,2006	Kinshasa, AP	UN peacekeeper dies in Pre- election Offensive	Descriptive article	Violence	Pre-election agitations.	
T- MOD- CO- 2006 N/9	News	June 2, 2006	Berlin, Reuters	Troops Deployed	Short and straight to the point story	European Union Intervention	Germany sending troops in the Congo during the Elections.	
T- MOD-	News	July 5, 2006	Anonymous Source	Congo Warning	Short and straight to	Congo described as	Britons advised not to go to the Congo.	

CO-2006 N/10					the point	a dangerous destination	
T-MOD-CO-N/11	News	July 15, 2006	Juba. Matthew Green	Guerrillas go on media offensive as talks begin	Descriptive Story	Congo Forest described as a dangerous place	Ugandan Gorillas hiding in the Congo Forest.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/12	News	July 22, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	Heart of Africa	Descriptive story	Pre-election campaign	Congolese people happy to vote for the first time since Independence.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/13	News	July 22, 2006	Kisangani, Jonathan Clayton	A people who have never voted put their faith in the ballot box and in candidates they have never heard of	Long and descriptive Story	First elections	Elections in the Congo.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/14	News	July 26, 2006	Anonymous source	Central African Mining & Exploration- Smaller stock to watch	Short and straight to the point	Congolese minerals.	Suisse company to exploit the Congo minerals.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/15	News	July 27, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	The Congolese's Elections Threatened By Dirty and Murders	Descriptive story	First elections	Hate campaign between Presidential candidates & their supporters.
T-MOD-CO-2006	News	July 29, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	First Poll brings hope for Congo After years of	Descriptive Story	First elections	Congolese happy to vote for their leaders.



N/16				penury and death.			
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/17	News	July 30, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	A Baffling Ballot Paper is the Only Hitch First Free Election	Descriptive story	First Elections	Congolese divided over the candidates to choose.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/18	News	July 31, 2006	Kinshasa, Toby More	A ray of Hope after years of Darkness -- Joseph Kabila	Describe Story	First elections	Congolese to vote for the first time since the creation of the country.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/19	News	August 4, 2006	Kinshasa, Chris Johnston	Drone observing poll Shut Down In the Congo	Descriptive story	Presidential elections	Disputes over the poll's results.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/12	News	August 1, 2006	Kinshasa, AFP	Congo violence	Short and straight to the point story	Presidential elections	Jean Pierre Bemba and Joseph Kabila to enter the run off.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/20	News	August 22, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	Envoys Caught up In Crossfire as Elections Spirals Into Violence	Story and Straight to the point Story	Presidential elections	Clashes between supporters of the two Congolese presidential Candidates.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/21	News	August 23, 2006	Kinshasa, unnamed author	Congo Hit By New Fighting	Descriptive story	Violence	Bemba doesn't agree with the run off poll's result.
T-MOD-	News	August 24, 2006	Kinshasa, unnamed author	Rival Faction Respect The	Politics	Fragile peace	Bemba respects the ceasefire in Kinshasa.

CO-2006 N/22				violence				
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/23	News	August 24, 2006	Kimpoko, Jonathan Clayton	Hopes of Democracy and Peace wither Amid of Violence	Descriptive story	Insecurity and Fear	Dispute over the poll's result.	
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/24	News	August 31, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	Anxiety and Hope On Trek to The Ballot	Descriptive story	Presidential elections	Congolese people getting ready for the run off.	
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/25	News	September 2, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	Businessmen Flood In With Cheap Goods and New Jobs	Descriptive story	Business and Profit	Chinese invading Congo for business.	
T-MOD-CO N/26	News	September 2	Michael Hosnell	Last Stand of the hippo as rebel militia slaughter hundreds a week	Descriptive story	Rebels	Hippos being slaughtered by rebels.	
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/27	News	October 27, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	Hopes of Democracy and Peace wither amid fears of violence	Descriptive	First elections	Congolese happy to vote for their leaders for the first time.	
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/28	News	October 28, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	Congo's fate may lie with the sons of two dictators	Descriptive story	First elections	Kabila and Mobutu Nzanga are presidential candidates.	
T-	News	October 30, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan	Anxiety and	Descriptive	First	Congolese anxious to vote.	

MOD-CO-2006 N/29			Clayton	Hope On Trek to the ballot	story	elections	
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/30	News	November 16, 2006	Kinshasa, AFP	Kabila's Victory	Short and straight to the point story	Presidential elections	Kabila wins 58 % of the votes while Bemba gets 42% of the votes.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/31	News	November 17, 2006	Kinshasa, AFP	Dispute Over Congo Elections	Politics	Post elections violence	Bemba refuses to accept the poll's result.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/32	News	November 20, 2006	Kinshasa, AP (Associated Press)	Congo Free Of More Violence	Politics	Post elections violence	Bemba challenges the election's results.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/33	News	November 21, 2006	Unnamed location, Ishbel Matheson/International Justice	Why Tyrants and Warmongers Must Face The Music	politics	War Crimes	Bemba accused of war crimes.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/34	News	November 21, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	Witchcraft In The Congo	Descriptive story	Witchcraft	Witchcraft in the Congolese churches.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/35	News	November 21, 2006	Kinshasa, Jonathan Clayton	Witchcraft In The Congo	Descriptive story	Witchcraft	Congolese Parents reject their child.
T-MOD-	News	November 22, 2006	Kinshasa, UN Correspondent	UN Troops Quell Riots In	Short and straight to	Violence	Post elections' violence.

CO-2006 N/36				The Congo	the point story		
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/37	News	November 28, 2006	Kinshasa, Reuters	Election Victory	Politics	Presidential election	The Congolese High Court Declares Kabila the winner of the elections.
T-MOD-CO-2006 N/38	News	December 8, 2006	London, Levis Smith and Mark Wright/WWF	Thousands of Gorillas Wiped Out By An Outbreak Of Ebola	Descriptive story	Ebola( A virus causing deadly disease)	The spreading virus of Ebola killing gorillas and Congolese.

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